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PRIMITIVE POETRY AND THE BALLAD.

II.

THE book of Spencer and Gillen, to which I have already referred, gives a welcome account of that tremendous ordeal awaiting the savage when he reaches manhood and is to be made a member of his tribe. Among native Australians this ordeal, painful and protracted as it is for the youths in question, is fairly resonant from beginning to end with choral song; the individual is silent through all his suffering, while the community gives due rhythmic expression to such sentiment as the occasion seems to demand. Sentiment, in a word, belongs here with the situation and the tribe itself, not with the individual and his emotion. No doubt the youth, during his complicated experience, gathers a stock of what most writers call sentiment and Matthew Arnold called criticism of life, sufficient to furnish forth a whole library of lyric poems. But it is not the way of these Australians for the individual, during such a process of experience, to sing his own troubles and triumph; he is besung, now in improvised and now in traditional verses, by leading singers and by the community at large, but mainly in chorals. Evidence of this sort can be gathered from many places and times, and from literary as well as ethnological sources. It all points, with little chance of error, to the conclusion that private confidences about private experience, and whatever qualities are implied in the more dignified idea of sentiment, were unknown to primitive verse.

There is nothing in this conclusion that appeals as new to the student of poetical forms, and nothing that appeals as important to the critic, who is inclined to think it a fairly obvious matter. But he will not call it unimportant, and he may not think it obvious, when he understands what it implies. It means, of course, that primitive poetry lacked the qualities which criticism has come to regard as fundamental in poetry. It means, moreover, a partial revision of critical ideas about epic, or in any case about those poems which were made when artistic control was tentative and had not forced poetry away from its mainly communal conditions. It means a more open mind to the difference between oral and written poetry.¹ For publicity, both in the making and in the taking, was an absolute condition of poetry until the invention of writing; and publicity, excluding as it did the private confidences of the poet, must have lasted well into the formative period of the great epics and worked, in their early versions, to the almost total exclusion of poetic sentiment in its present form. Criticism, to be sure, assumes what it calls objectivity for the epic; but its definitions of the term and its explanations of the fact have been deplorably vague. A. W. Schlegel, in his admirable study of ballad style,² simply says that the old makers of verse were objective by instinct where the great masters of later time are objective by art. Guyau, excellent observer of the character and tendencies of modern verse, is much to the same purpose: unconscious art of the primitive time comes to be conscious under civilized conditions; *notre sensibilité s'intellectualise*.³ Scherer,⁴ who revels in a thaumaturgic use of the commonplace, sees but half of the problem, and explains this unsentimental and unindividual note of ballads and of older epic, and presumably of primitive verse, not by the fact of oral making and auricular reception, but by mere oral transmission: passed along by a hundred singers, the poet's individuality and sentiment—which Scherer assumes in full strength from the beginning—had to undergo a constant

¹ By his neglect to extend this difference from mere transmission to conditions of making A. E. BERGER robs his researches on the ballad of all final and historical value; see his "Volkslied und Kunstlied," in *Nord und Süd*, 1894, pp. 76 ff.

² On Bürger, in *Charakteristiken und Kritiken*, Vol. II, pp. 23 f.

³ *Problèmes de l'esthétique contemporaine*, p. 145.

⁴ *Poetik*, pp. 135 f.

process of detrition, which substituted, at every slip of memory, a general idea or phrase for a particular idea or phrase. But apart from the improbability of such an argument, which forgets that precisely the unusual would stick in one's memory and make a given song worth while, Scherer runs counter to the evidence; he ignores that ethnological and literary proof of the lack of personality, the lack of sentiment, in primitive verse. He tries to explain the disappearance of something which had not yet appeared. It is clear that one must rise to wider views of the epic, and find a better formula for its relation to other kinds of verse. Before one explains epic objectivity, by no means the simple matter of miraculous popular conception that Jacob Grimm thought it to be, by no means the artistic triumph that traditional criticism assumes, one must have a satisfactory formula of distinction in the evolution of poetry, which shall reckon with all the facts in the case. Such a formula of distinction may be inferred from a study of poetic sentiment on the lines already laid down.

Primitive verse appealed by cumulative impression to what has been called emotional community; and it was forced, by the very conditions of composition, to be objective in every way. Until the period of written verse, when a poem could be composed in private and passed down to posterity by writing or by whatever mnemonic device, mainly as it was composed, poetry had to make this appeal to emotional community, to that entity which psychologists have studied so well in its modern and fugitive form as "the mind of an audience." Primitive poetry could not appeal to private sentiment and to the individual mind under conditions where the "mind of an audience" dominated the composition of verse as well as its reception and even transmission to other places and times. The modern poet addresses a disintegrated throng; he appeals to that compound of thought and emotion which sunders itself from the mass of men, and returns to the sense of communal sympathy only upon the broadly human lines of a common fate. He has withdrawn from the crowd into his "ivory tower;" but he looks out on a world instead of a village green. He works alternately with microscope and telescope; you may see

what he sees with either, but you must come singly into his tower. Do away with all this. Project that condition of "the mind of an audience" back into the past, increasing its power and scope as it recedes; as steadily reduce the power and scope of individual sentiment, of cosmic thinking; and when the process has reversed the present proportions of these two elements in poetry, there will be found approximately the conditions which ruled during the formative period of epic. True, our great epics do not come directly from the formative period; their "intellects are replenished," as anyone can see who compares them with a ballad, and it may even be that they have "drunk ink."¹ They have an artistic symmetry of design. Sundry passages show individual sentiment and even cosmic thinking; although this asserts itself mainly in comment upon the situation,² and is tentative, parenthetical, never an insistent mood. All this granted, however, it seems that criticism lays far too much stress upon such passages. The real greatness of the great epic lies in the communal elements which it holds in artistic frame, and in their quite dominant character. The main appeal is still, as in primitive times, to the emotional community, the "mind of an audience," an appeal which under modern conditions would be a renunciation of all poetic claims, but which, in the great epic, furnishes what one calls the majesty, the simplicity, the objectivity, now unattainable by poets at any price. Great passages can be found in modern poetry to match any great passages of the epic; and it is not to these that we are to look as the source of that objective and majestic power. Nor does it lie in the coherence of parts due to artistic design. Epic majesty is not an innovation, not a discovery of the epic poet, not an achievement of art; it is mainly a survival. If it is not a survival, the refuge of that older cumulative appeal to communal emotion, what do we mean when we say that the times of the great epic are vanished beyond recall? All this concerns the epic material; but evidence of a trustworthy kind shows that the difference of appeal in subject-matter of poetry runs parallel with a difference of appeal in poetic style.

¹ On the question of writing, see A. LANG, *Homer and the Epic*, pp. 46 ff.

² KELLER, *Homeric Society*, p. 115, says that human misery is Homer's abiding thought. Goethe, in a familiar phrase, expressed the same opinion.

Here, too, it would seem that the older art appealed by cumulative impression of details—the development of a more primitive identical repetition—to a sense of the whole; while the new art, according to critical canons the real art, appeals by imaginative provocation to a particular and detailed appreciation of parts. Roughly, this general distinction matches an older emotional, communal conception of human life, as compared with that civilized point of view which Vierkandt has called the "atomistic" or intellectual conception. The evidence of literature thus falls into line with sociological and ethnological facts. But the communal instinct will not utterly desert us, and lurks even in the critical brain. For all our atomistic conception, for all our individual canons of art, we are ready to call no literary effort genuinely great until, after the manner of the great epics, but with a difference, it unitessome cumulative impression with the provocative, sentimental, and imaginative appeal. Such a union is attained in Shakspere's drama as compared with one of George Chapman's noble but overweighted and intellectualized plays. So it is, although on a lower level, with the narrative comedy which Fielding described in the preface to *Joseph Andrews* and fairly realized in *Tom Jones*—a great whole for which we find it impossible to account by summing up its great parts. Such is the ideal comedy, in its search for "the mind hovering above congregated men and women," which Mr. George Meredith outlines in his fine essay¹ and works out in *The Egoist*. These, however, are the exceptions. Taking communal poetry in the mass, from rudest savage chants up to the so-called popular epic, and taking modern poetry in the mass, from Villon's "Testament" to Browning's epilogue in "Asolando," that distinction of the formula stands out plain for eyes that are willing to see. Criticism cannot afford to ignore it and the lessons it can teach. So great a critic as Arnold, in a famous preface, went back to the cumulative appeal² in order to rebuke modern poetry and to lay a bit of blame upon Shakspere for setting the fashion of writing fine passages; and then, years

¹ *On Comedy*, pp. 14 f.

² That is, he not only demanded proportion and symmetry, affair of the artist, but that sense of its greatness as a whole which besets the reader of a great epic, and which belongs to the communal side of the account.

afterward, in another famous preface,¹ quoting Shakspere in all ardor, turns directly upon himself and declares that "lines and expressions of the great masters" are the tests of great poetry—atomistic instead of cumulative appeal. Utterances like these are puzzling until one reflects that in the first case a really eminent poet, who knew and loved his Homer, is prefacing his own attempt to achieve poetic objectivity, calm, impersonality of appeal, by a comparison of modern sentiment with the old epic excellence;² while in the second case he is casting about for a test which shall decide what modern poetry is really great. But the critic must not deal with historical material in this random way. He must face the formula of difference, the formula of cumulative or atomistic impression. To nearly all modern making, so individual in its appeal, one may lay the charge that the whole is less than the sum of its parts. So Arnold found when he weighed recent poetry in classical scales. But in poetry of the people, in ballads, in the spirit of epic, the sum of the parts is less than the whole. Now criticism, as Arnold showed when he stated his formula of "lines and expressions," deals mainly with the parts. Emotions converge, emotional expression runs to iteration, and the appeal to emotion makes an easy synthesis; thoughts, on the other hand, diverge, and when emotion is rationalized, one deals with sentiment and individual appreciations, where synthesis is hard. But that is precisely the usual task of criticism—synthesis of intellectual appreciations. In point of fact, let it be remembered, there were no critics so long as all poetry was mainly an appeal to emotional community; and it is said that this absence of criticism lasted through the period of rhapsodic verse.³ The canons of criticism have been formed almost exclusively from observation of individual poetry in its appeal to an intellectual and analytic appreciation. They are valid for that sort of verse. They are not valid for a time which produced poetry without producing critics and made the cumulative appeal to "emotional community." They are to be applied to the great epic only with full allowance for the rights of those communal elements which help to make it great. The critic

¹ Introduction to WARD's *English Poets*.

² One thinks of Goethe's passion for this old quality, and of his failures like the *Achilleis*.

³ EGGER, *Essai sur l'histoire de la critique, chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1887), p. 6.

may ask of modern artists in poetry if they possess *ces trois facultés essentielles . . . imagination, instinct créateur, et sentiment*,¹ he may praise an exquisite passage in Homer which shows these qualities, like the parting of Hector and Andromache, because it suits our atomistic and sentimental conception; but when he comes to the historical estimate, to the contemporary verdict on epic success, above all, when it is a question of the beginning and growth of poetry at large, then the critic should pause before he undertakes to judge past by present. Two chances of grave error, to which I have already referred, beset him. He is tempted to carry the atomistic conception, the intellectual and sentimental appeal, of modern poetry, back into the border-land of epic, not to speak of the ballad; and he is prone to regard what he calls the informing principle of poetic style, imaginative power, as a constant quality and test of poetry itself, as a thing not subject to ordinary laws of evolution.

Defending the claims of the *Nibelungen* to poetic greatness, one is tempted to offset Arnold's condemnation by the use of Arnold's own method, and so triumph by more judicious extracts. One insists, for example, on the beauty of a line in Rüdeger's speech,² during his colloquy with the Burgundians:

"Daz wolde got," sprach Rüdeger, "vil edel Gernöt,
daz ir ze Rne waret unde ich wäre töt . . ."

—surely a piece of noble sentiment, tragic, keen, with true climax of expression. A modern poet would stop then and there, to make his atomistic impression. In quoting, I fancy we all do stop there. The old poet, however, did not stop there, leaving details, reasons, concession, to care for themselves; he made the verses overflow into what we call unimaginative commonplace—and the earlier epic audience perhaps felt to be a good cumulative appeal:

"Daz wolde got," sprach Rüdeger, "vil edel Gernöt,
daz ir ze Rne waret unde ich wäre töt
mit etelichen éren, sit ich iuch sol bestän:
Ez enwart noch nie an degenen wirs von friunden getän."

I am quite aware that the critic calls the other lines *flickverse*, awkward stopgap of the quatrain, and that we all call them a dis-

¹GUYAU, *Problèmes*, p. 123.

²A, 2120.

appointment. A fine climax is thrown away. Taken alone, those impressive opening verses interpret a personal sentiment of the hero to the personal appreciation of the reader; they put one in the very citadel of Rüdeger's individuality; they are a noble human document. One reads on, and one is dragged into the mere tradition and detail of tragedy, into the market-place of emotion, and faces that old problem of kin and clan. One leaves the pretty personal *casus*—as of a Hamlet, an Orestes, a Rodrigue—and deals with the communal situation, the group, the place, the clash of kinship and vassalage. But what if this “would that I were dead,” coupled with the generous wish for new-made kindred to escape, becomes, when read in our falsetto, mere travesty and fragment of a fine old choral which we have not the ears to hear? What if the restored climax is distortion after all, and not of a piece with the rest of the wild scene—the smoking ruins of the hall, the strife, the calls, the fierce taunts of Wolhart and Volker, the back-and-forth of single combat, now here, now there? There are passages of sentiment in the *Nibelungen*, and noble enough. The death of Siegfried has such artistic touches, in addition to the cumulative and communal appeal. There are passages of romance outright, awkwardly as they fit the grim and unromantic whole. There are even imaginative touches of style. But one will do ill to defend the poetry of the *Nibelungen* by emphasis on these isolated passages, by appeal to the atomistic conception; for it is a poem which, in spite of relatively modern elements, still makes the old appeal by cumulative impression and by a kind of communal majesty. Its whole is greater than the sum of its parts; it must be read, as the Rüdeger episode ought to be read, as a whole; and each time that one thus reads it there comes, along with carelessness for “tonic” passages, a stronger sense of its mass, its cumulative strength.

I have hinted above that there is a short way with communal dissenters; one may simply throw out all the *flickverse*, all the accretions, and point with pride to a personally discovered epic of the most convincing sentiment and artistry. One may restore Rüdeger's climax, and charge to scribe, or editor, or whatever vagrom man the critic comprehends, those added and cumber-

some details. But this pretty way leads the editorial feet, the critical feet, into a hopeless mire. The process will not do. Those details may be cumbersome to Gigadibbs the literary; but they are not accretions, they are survivals. If we assume that something like our traditional ballads preceded the epic, as its material, or if we admit that the ballad is simpler in form than the epic—and nobody denies that—we shall find that sentiment in the best ballads is in solution with the situation, and shows an inordinate love of details. Here, too, is the older stage of incremental repetition, a stage so remote from modern poetical style that it enables one to see plainly the primitive habit of outright iteration. But, apart from this, one notes in the ballad that same ignoring of climax in favor of cumulative detail which is noted in the epic, and without any excuse in the exigencies of an incomplete stanza:

The Persē leanyde on his brande
and sawe the Duglas de;
He took the dede mane by the hande,
and sayd 'Wo ys me for the

Well, *explicit quoth Richard Sheale*—and Percy? Not at all. There are interesting particulars:

'To have savyde thy lyffe, I wolde have partyde with
my landes for years thre,
For a better man, of hart nare of hande,
was nat in all the north contrē.'

The appeal, one sees, is cumulative and not by suggestion and climax; the sympathy is matter of clan, family, station, country. If it was this fine old ballad that moved Sidney's heart, and not "Otterburn," then one may feel sure that the trumpet rang for him as clearly in the second of these stanzas as in the first, and that, with all his literary sympathies, he felt no temptation to stop with a *tremolo* on the "woe is me." The trumpet blew from remote epic heights, and sounded its call to the old spirit of clan and kin.

So much seems clear and true. As for the movement from stage to stage of that process by which sentiment came to its mastery of modern verse, one must ask indulgence and leave to theorize. A bridge from clan-sentiment to personal sentiment,

from cumulative to atomistic and individual appeal, was furnished, I believe, at least for ballads, by the comparatively later element of pathetic and tragic love. In the great epics it is the comment of the singer which furnishes an individual and steadily growing sentiment; but with ballads and lyric what one may call the dual interest mediates between an older plurality, public interest of clan and kin, and that later confidence and privacy of the individual from which genuine ballads of tradition are entirely free. "The Twa Brothers," for example, has no trace of this confidence; but its climax, its incremental repetition, and its tragedy of kinship, all communal elements, are subservient to a hint of the dual interest. The brothers wrestle, and one stabs the other. "What," asks the sound one, "shall I say at home—to father?" "Say I am gone to England to buy him wine." "To mother?" "To buy her a gown." "To sister?" "To buy her a ring." "But what to your true-love?" The climax:

"Oh, tell her I lie in kirk-land fair,
And home again will never come."¹

From here to the desperate lover, the forsaken sweetheart, is no long step for even the popular muse; she begins to encourage an individual sentiment, a solitary confidence, lyric outright. Isolation once gained, the privileges of privacy must follow. There is no spoiling of the climax now, when a forsaken maid, with suggestive simile of love and morning-dew to back her emotion, makes the sentimental appeal, so like Rüdeger's cry, and yet so different from it:

"And O, if my young babe were born,
And set upon the nurse's knee,
And I myself were dead and gone
And the green grass growing over me!"

By such a bridge, and close behind such a half-popular, half-artistic song, solitary lovers, and solitary loves without a name, and then the lover's conventional deputy, Kingsley or whoever else, have found their way to the Braes of Yarrow, Arthur's Seat, Airlie Beacon, and all the other refuges of passion in despair.

¹ Compare a pretty hint of this dual interest at the end of a fairly communal ballad, *The Wife of Usher's Well*.

Over the same dividing stream, but by the *Ubi Sunt* bridge, Villon passed from a kind of guild-poem, impersonal didactics, a catalogue, to the personal but not amorous note of confidential lyric. Nobody is ever really the first to do anything; and the French critics will doubtless be scolded for making Villon first of his country to cross the stream, just as my own shy belief in William Dunbar as earliest confidential lyric poet of the English tongue will, if noted, be crushed by the ridicule of a wayfaring critic. But surely some explanation of the sort must be found to fit this progress of sentiment from dull choral iteration of a commonplace down to the piercing note of Burns and of Keats.

But it is hardly the critic's explanation. Looking at the poems which have been named, early lyric as well as late, ballad, and great epic passage too, the critic no doubt would say that the appeal, however simple, to sentiment of whatever sort, is by virtue of a quality which all good poetry must possess, and which, for lack of a more specific term, is called imagination. It is certain that Sainte-Beuve, whose criticism was anything but parochial and traditional, insisted that the grace of this same imagination, infused into the refrain of a famous ballade, made Villon take his place as first modern poet of France. Critically, this particular judgment may pass. Historically, it fails to explain the facts.¹ Again one asks for the formula of difference, and so comes to this hard problem: What is imagination for one who studies the phases of poetry in their evolution from low to high types? Let it be noted that I do not ask indiscreet questions about imagination as a quality in and for itself. Of all the little cattle to shoe, here is the worst. Imagination is so sacred in critical traditions that the student is warned against any mention of it except in metaphysical terms. He may say what it looks like when nobody can see it, but he must not play any scientific tricks and reduce it to older and lower elements in its historical manifestations. Yet this is what I shall try to do. I shall try to learn something about poetic imagination, not as the test of great poetic art, not as a mysterious quality of the human soul, but simply in its results, in

¹ It is hardly necessary to refer the reader to that little masterpiece of critical and historical study, the *Villon* of GASTON PARIS.

its workings as a factor in the making of poetry new and old, of poetry good, bad, and indifferent. I am told that this is dealing with "the mere mechanism of poetry," and that to show a scientific spirit spells ruin. The most tremendous feats of electricity in the modern world of science, the generation of intensest heat for the arts, may all be traced back to that familiar rubbing of two dry sticks. But the heat and light of poetry, so critics say, must be submitted to no such process of study, simply because poetry is not mechanical. "It comes from heaven, gentlemen; be silent, or else talk metaphysics." But poetry, while not mechanical, is a social product, and open to study on sociological lines as an element in human life. It has progressed, like other elements of life, from low types to high. It would not be hard to find an analogy for the initial rubbing of two dry sticks in the monotonous matching of rhythmic equivalents and the iteration of primitive chorus; nor would it be impossible to detect survivals of the process in modern verse. One must seek, in the evolution of poetry, for the constant element, the shifting conditions, and the formula of difference.

From this evolutionary point of view, modern poetic imagination may be regarded as the suggestion of what was once given in cumulative detail, and, earlier still, in long repetitions. The changes affect both subject-matter and style. If, in the traditional way, we regard rhythm, style, and subject-matter as the three divisions of poetry, we may count rhythm—the essential condition, though not the actual essence, of poetry—as its constant, communal element; subject-matter and style, on the other hand, vary with the conditions under which poetry is made. Imagination is in these the real differencing factor; while rhythm, had for the asking, is so obvious a matter that critics chafe at the idea of even its regulative importance.¹ It is with this attitude toward imagination as main element that the Abbé du Bos assures us, "the style of poetry constitutes the greatest difference between verse and prose," and has for its main object *de faire des images et de plaire à l'imagination*.² Cardinal Newman is convinced that

¹This distinction between a factor which is essentially necessary and a factor whose necessity is "regulative," comes, if I do not err, from Kant.

²Réflexions critiques, 7th ed., Vol. I, pp. 298, 312.

poetry must adopt metaphorical phrase "as the only poor means allowed it for imparting its intense feelings."¹ Even Blackwell, pioneer of another school of criticism, lets imagination play the main part in his description of the rhapsodic process.² Fairly true for modern poetry, this notion of the imaginative function needs considerable mending if it is to include earlier stages of verse. As a matter of style in the narrower sense, a process of evolution must be assumed for it, which began with repetition as the earliest form of emphasis. Variation, by playing on repetition, develops the conscious metaphor; and in metaphor one is already passing along the lines of cumulative appeal to suggestion, to the provocation of thought and of intellectual appreciation of parts. Repetition, of course, is constant in the communal element of rhythm, and even appears in style as an effective device for mainly emotional purposes. But variation and suggestion rouse individual thought, and turn appreciation from the whole to the parts. On the surface, then, imaginative power in the subject-matter and style of poetry runs a course of development from primitive iteration, through variation, down to abridgment and suggestion. It is no exclusively poetic process. With riper culture one will always refer, hint, summarize, rather than state at length. Conversation of bright people differs from the *commerage* of washerwomen, the anecdotal vein of Mrs. Quickly, mainly in this preference for hints and allusion over details; for ultimate material all lean with equal love on scandal and the common doings of men. In the later poetry, imaginative provocation takes the place of ballad iteration and epic "breadth." To explain this by saying that iteration and breadth are qualities of the ballad and epic, forms of poetry to which genius does not turn any more, is to put the cart before the horse and to interpret a cause by its result. Not new details, whether of matter or of style, can quicken poetry to its best, but a new power of suggestion playing over the old and familiar material. Coleridge, whom I shall quote presently for this argument, went to Sir H. Davy's lectures at the Royal Institution avowedly "to increase his stock of metaphors;"³ but his triumphs, metaphorical and material both,

¹ *On Poetry*, ed. COOK, p. 11. ² *Enquiry*, p. 120. ³ *Poetical Works*, ed. CAMPBELL, p. lix.

came not that way, and do not remind us of Euphues and Jean Paul. As little did poetry win by the efforts of men like Dr. Aikin, in theory, and Erasmus Darwin, in practice, to annex scientific territory to the old realm of verse. It has really made its best gains by retreating to an inner citadel.

For poetry and practical science run in opposite courses; the former has been called from details and events into a nearer, narrower range, while the useful arts have reached farther and farther from the human mind which conceived them. Garment, house, tool, weapon, conveyance, communication, are all projections of the bodily function, and steadily widen their reach; but poetry has been as steadily compressing the exterior world, both space and time, into the nutshell of man's imagination. It is thus to modern phases of poetry that Sainte-Beuve's pretty word chiefly applies: *la poésie ne consiste pas à tout dire, mais à tout faire rêver.* For older verse it is not a good formula. In the matter of style, as in the matter of sentiment, one must not too boldly apply it to a poetry which delighted in iteration and breadth, and which made the cumulative, not the suggestive and analytical appeal. Years ago, I did apply it to the concluding lines of the prelude in *Beowulf*.¹ The application will still pass, but not in the sense originally intended; for those concluding lines are not of the epic essence. The main prelude, beautiful as it is, seems to me a transcript of old epic material, cumulative in appeal, communal in spirit, with this touch of the suggestive, individual, provocative, imaginative, added as the poet's own contribution. Like certain passages in Homer, it is his comment on his material. Nobody, I suspect, really looks for a primitive whole in this epic, but only for a survival of primitive elements in artistic frame. The art is rough, but it is art. An older version of the prelude doubtless administered no fillip to the imagination and opened no world of dreams; it gave to the primitive audience what men in the street still desire in such a case—full details of the funeral. The touch of communal emotion is sincere and old; "mournful was the mood" of those once kingless men who saw the ship and its burden drift away. But the final verses, artistic by design or by accident, touch another chord:

¹ *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VII, "On the Translation of *Beowulf*."

Men ne cunnon
secgan tō sōðe selrædende,
hæleð under heofenum, hƿā þær hlæste onfēng.

It is the ballads, with their incessant incremental repetition, that best keep up that old cumulative appeal, although with it goes a swiftness of omission quite opposed to epic breadth. Sometimes, too, suggestion is substituted by modern verse without abridgment of details. If one will read a ballad of the type of "Clerk Colvill,"¹ even in its fragmentary form, and then compare it with a poem on the same theme, like the "Belle Dame sans Merci" of Keats, one can measure the difference between cumulative appeal by details, and the suggestive use of details externally similar to those of the communal account. Mainly, however, the change concerns expression rather than plot and story. Not long ago, in a curious tale, Mr. Kipling named two fairly obvious passages of English poetry as supreme in imaginative reach—those "magic casements" of Keats, and Coleridge's "savage spot" with its "woman wailing for her demon lover." It is clear that all the world prefers these wonderful abridgments and suggestions to the exquisite descriptions in detail that sundry poets, notably Arnold, have tried to revive in modern times. Imaginative provocation lies in both methods, but the abridgment wins more favor. And now for our question. Why are those lines of Keats, of Coleridge, so imaginatively strong? Why are they so suggestive? Psychology, criticism, may each have an answer; for the historical student the magic of such a passage lies in its power to sum up the whole material that poetry has been making from the start. The casements open on a world of past poetic achievement. Because ballad and song once laid hold upon man by cumulative impression, and drove home their themes into the heart of communal emotion; because epic had set whole cycles of adventure, deeds of war, and the round of human life before man's collective and contemporary sympathy; because what we call romance said a last word for this old world as it faded away, so precisely what we call romantic in the imperious suggestion of the poet, his single word *perilous*, his hint of infinite details carried in a

¹ CHILD, Vol. III, pp. 387 f., Version A.

syllable or so, now sets the individual and his atomistic conception upon memories and dreams. Until the individual conquers this world he cannot dream. Children, rude folk generally, would rather hear, as the communal audience preferred to hear, a ballad like "Tam Lin," like "Thomas Rymer," than be moved to construct tale and scene from Coleridge's moonlight and maid and demon-lover. Once the thing itself was worth far more than a romantic shiver at the mention of it. Now one forgets the reality in the vision. "Upon his shield a burning brand," says Coleridge with marvelous recapitulation of all the best of chivalry; there are still folk who will prefer to read the old romance itself; and once it had no substitute.¹ Try Coleridge further; in the study of this poetic phase there can be no better aid to reflection than that which he gives. Try him again in his suggestion:

To hear thee sing some ballad full of woe,
Ballad of shipwreck'd sailor floating dead,
Whom his own true-love buried in the sands.

Yet Coleridge will not and cannot give the ballad. He tried it once, old style and all, in "The Three Graves"—and failed. He would himself send you, as he went himself, to "Sir Patrick Spens," or, had he known it, to that Westphalian version of the old Hero and Leander motive, "*Et waren zwei kunnigeskinner*." He did find his way to something better, at least for modern taste, than the old songs; and by the provocation, suggestion, imaginative reach of *The Ancient Mariner*,² he showed how one may compass results of the old ballad without making its cumulative appeal. In *Christabel* he took the same attitude toward old epic and romance. Even old lyric he met by a new suggestion:

And the spring comes slowly up this way . . .

Exquisite enough!

Lenten is comen with love to towne,
says the old English song almost as prettily; but it lays no stress

¹ I think we ought to strive, in season and out of season, to banish suggestive and sentimental poetry from the reading of children. Ballad and simple epic, with lyric transcripts of the outer world, are the only practical material for children's reading or hearing. To force the appreciation of suggestive verse is fatal.

² Even in cases as vss. 41 ff., this poem is not cumulative, but thoroughly suggestive.

on the line, puts no provocation into it, and proceeds to give a bill of particulars about birds and flowers.

At one stride comes the dark

Coleridge again, and a telling phrase. But there is no such poetical suggestion, not even the mythological significance which Grimm welcomed, hardly a conscious metaphor, in the line of our old *Genesis*,¹ when Eve

Pæt lēoht geseah
ellor scrtðan

It is in a nobler epic than this Scripture paraphrase that one seeks an ancient English parallel for the suggestive power of Coleridge's imagination. We saw how, consciously or unconsciously, the poet of the *Beowulf* sets us dreaming by a phrase. It is the same poet that furnishes a good parallel passage, still laden with something of the old cumulative appeal, but fairly suggestive, to one of Coleridge's best achievements. Let the reader shut his eyes and repeat the opening of *Kubla Khan*, with Alph, the sacred river, running its cavernous way down to the sunless sea, to the lifeless ocean; then let this well-known passage of the *Beowulf*² be compared:

Hie dýgel lond
warigeað, wulflleoðu, windige næssas,
frēne fengelad, þær fyrgenstréam
under næssa genipu niðer gewiteð,
flōd under foldan

If any doubt lingers in the reader's mind that imaginative suggestion here dominates an older cumulative appeal, let him read on to where the hounded stag pauses at the bank above rather than plunge into that mysterious water. If anything is certain about the *Beowulf*, it is the intention of its poet to do in such a description what Coleridge³ said his own youthful verses, otherwise of no value, tried to achieve with their "strivings of mind and struggles after the Intense and Vivid." To attain this intense

¹ GREIN-WÜLKER, *Bibliothek*, Vol. II, p. 357, vss. 772 f.

² Vss. 1357 ff. There are obvious relations here with the growing disposition of poetry to treat nature in terms of individual experience, a subject on which there is still room for investigation.

³ Work quoted, p. 1.

and vivid quality, to heighten suggestion and curtail cumulative garrulity, poets have made numberless corrections in their written work. These, indeed, we can seldom compare with earlier and tentative copies; but happy cases occur. So Milton,¹ in his minor poems, shows the effort not only after correctness, ease, fit metaphor, but also after more vivid suggestion. With the more negligible class belong changes like "mixe yo^r choise chords" to "wed your divine sound," or "triple row" to "burning row," and "drowned nature's chime" to "jarred against nature's chime"—an escape from catachresis. But the higher mood appears when, in *Comus*, "Ayrie tounys that lure night wanderers" becomes as now, "Ayrie tounys that syllable men's names"—subtler imaginative suggestion for mere suggestive detail.

I have thus tried to gain a formula of difference for poetic evolution, from the simple communal type to the more artistic and complicated structure of today, mainly in terms of the growth of sentiment and of suggestive imagination, two passions that maintain a joint sovereignty in modern verse. If the result is in any wise satisfactory, if the formula is adequate, it ought to help that discussion about the real character of the traditional or popular ballad, a subject, as Professor Bücher has hinted, which is not to be approached from the modern canons of art. Mr. Henderson's introduction to the new edition of Scott's *Border Minstrelsy* takes a quite hostile tone toward the theory that ballads are in any part or element survivals of an older kind of poetry. In a third paper, and a brief one—no longer, it may be hoped, than the first—I shall try to submit this question, not to modern criticism, not to aesthetic theories, but to the formula established by a study of ethnological and literary facts.

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NANTUCKET, July, 1903.

¹ *Facsimile of the Manuscript, etc.*, Cambridge, 1890.

THE IE. BASE *GHERO-* IN GERMANIC.

FOR the base *ghero-*, *ghere-*, *ghrē-* we may assume the primary meaning "touch, rub, scrape; touch, handle, take hold of, seize," from which many secondary meanings, as illustrated in the examples given below.

In its simplest form few examples can be found, the root occurring for the most part in derivative stems; so that we find, for example in Greek, *χράω*, *χραίνω*, *χρώξω*, *χρώννῦμι*, *χρωτίζω*; *χρίω*, *χρίμπτω*; *χραίνω*, *χραύξομαι*, etc., with meanings so closely related that it is impossible to suppose that they are not phonetically connected. And what is true of the Greek is equally true of the Germanic.

In the examples given below I have indicated the probable phonetic development, or, at least, relationship. For if we find two synonymous bases *ghreid-* and *ghreud-* by the side of the simpler forms *ghrei-* and *ghreu-*, it is not necessary to assume that *ghreud-* is a direct derivative of *ghreu-*, though the probability is in favor of such a supposition; but it is possible that *ghreud-* might have been modeled on *ghreid-* from other forms in *-eu-*. This might, indeed, be possible without any base *ghreu-* at all.

Just how each of the bases given below is related to an original base *ghero-* I will not venture to say. That they are related in some way is evident. There is at least a common element of meaning running through them; and whether this came from an original phonetic connection or through association is immaterial.

1. Base *ghre-n-* "touch, smear; rub, crush; crash, howl."

Gk. *χραίνω* < **ghrnjō* "berühre die oberfläche, streiche an, farbe," MHG. *grinnen* "knirschen, frendere," *grannen, grennen* "weinen, flennen; bejammern," OHG. *granōn, grunzen*, OE. *grunian* "grunzen," *grennian* "greinen, grinsen," ON. *grenia* "heulen, brällen," Skt. *hṛṇītē, hṛṇāyāti* "grollt, ist böse," OE. *gyrn* "affliction," OS. *gornon* "trauern."

2. Base *ghre-m-* "scrape, scratch, irritate; grate, gnash, crash."

Goth. *gramjan* "aufreizen, erzürnen," *gramst* "splitter," OE. *gremman* "irritate, provoke," OHG. *gram* "zornig, feindselig," *grim, grimmī* "grimm, zornig, wild; schmerzlich," MHG. *grimmen* "vor zorn oder schmerz wüten, brüllen," MLG. *grummen* "ein dumpfes getöse machen," Dan. *grum* "grausam, grimmig," *grumble* E. *grumble* "knurren, murren," Lith. *gruménti* "leise und dumpf donnern," *grámdau* "schabe rein," Gk. *χρόμαδος* "grating or creaking noise, gnashing, crashing," *χρεμλίζω* "neigh" (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*; Schade, *Wb.*; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*).

3. Base *ghre-l(n-)* "scratch, irritate; grate, gnash, crash."

OE. *grillan* "irritate, tease," MHG. *grel, grelle* "das krallende, stechende; dorn, gabel, spieß," *grel* "rauh, grell, zornig," *grelle* "vor zorn schreien," *grel, gral* "schrei," *grüllen* "höhnen, spotten; grollen," *grulz* "lärm, aufruhr," Sw. *gråla* "zanken, schelten, keifen," NHG. *grölen* "schreien," *grölzen* "rülpsen; schreien."

4. Base *ghere-s-* "rub: grate, creak; irritate, annoy; smear."

Skt. *ghárṣati* "reibt," *ghṛṣṭa* "gerieben, wund," *gharṣa* "reibung, zusammenstoss," Gk. *χέρσος, χέππος* "wüst, unfruchtbar," *χέρσων* "verwüste," OE. *gierran* "creak; chatter," primarily "scrape, grate," MLG. *garren* "grunzen," MHG. *garren* "pfeifen," *gurren* "gurren, girren," to which belong ON. *gerstr* "murrisch, unwillig," *gersta* "annoy," MHG. *garst* "ranzig," Lith. *grasūs* "widerwärtig," *grasà* "abscheu, ekel," *gristi* "überdrüssig werden" (cf. Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.*, 171), Welsh *gwrm* "dark, black," Ir. *gorm* "blue" <**ghors-mo-* "smeared, stained" (cf. author, *Color-Names and Their Congeners*, VII, 9).

Here belong Lat. *hordeum*, OHG. *gersta* "gerste," and perhaps OE. *gorst* "gorse, furze."

5. Base *ghre-(n)t-* "rub, grind, crush, crash; wear away, excavate."

OE. *grindan* "grind; sharpen; dash, rub, gnash," *gegrind* "grinding together, crash, clash," OHG. *grint* "grind, schorf," Goth. *grinda-fraþjis* "kleinmütig," OE. *grandorlēas* "harmless," ON. *grand* "schaden, nachteil," *grand* "brocken, bissen," *grannr* "schlank, schmächtig," *grenna* "verkleinern," Norw. *grand* "fein, dünn, zart," Sw. *grand* "bischen," NHG. *grand* "sand."

From "grind, rub" comes "excavate, aushöhlen." Hence the

following: MHG. *grant* "trog; behälter, schrank; grund, unterlage," *grinden* "sich öffnen, klaffen, bellen," OHG. *grunt* "tiefe, abgrund; vertiefung, schlucht; niederung, ebene; unterste fläche eines körpers oder raumes, grund," OE. *grund* "bottom, floor; ground, earth; plain, land; abyss, interior; water, sea," ON. *grunrr* "grund, boden."

5a. MHG. *grant* "trog; behälter, schrank; grund," *grunt* "tiefe abgrund; vertiefung, schlucht; grund," etc., show a development of meaning which is found in a number of words that may be derivatives of the base under discussion. So the following:

Lat. *gremium* "lap, bosom; interior," perhaps from **ghremio-m* "hollow place." Compare Lith. *grám-dau* "scrape out" (No. 2).

Goth. *grōba* "grube," *graba*, Lith. *grābē* "graben," *grābas* "sarg" (No. 9).

ON. *gróp* "aushöhlung," Sw. *grop* "grube, grübchen," OE. *grēpe* "ditch; burrow," *gripu* "kettle" (No. 10).

ON. *grýta*, Sw. *gryta* "topf, kochtopf" (No. 20b). With these compare OE. *grēada* "bosom, sinus, gremium," pre-Germ. **ghroutón-* or *-dhon-* "hollow, interior."

OSw. *grōpa* "aushöhlen," MG. *grope* "kochtopf" (No. 22).

ON. *gryfa* "höhle," OE. *grēofa* "kettle" (No. 23).

6. Base *ghrē-d-*, *ghrō-d-* "touch, handle, treat, address, greet; touch, smear; touch, rub, grate, howl."

Gk. *χρώσω* < **ghrōdiō* "berühre, bestreiche," OE. *grētan* < **grōtjan* "touch, handle; come to, visit, treat; address, greet, salute," OHG. *gruozen* "antreiben, excitare, concitare; beunruhigen, irritare, angreifen; anreden, rufen, nennen; grüssen," OS. *grōtian* "einen angehen, anreden;" MHG. *gräzen* "schreien, aufschreien, wüten, sich übermütig oder anmasslich gebärden," Goth. *grētan* "weinen," *grēts*, ON. *grátr* "das weinen," *gráta* "laut jammern," MHG. *gráz* "wut, übermut," *graz* "wütend, zornig," Lith. *grodzia* "poltert," Skt. *hrādatē* "tönt," *sam-hrādayati* "schlägt zusammen," *hrāda* "geräusch, getön," *hrādin* "lärzend, tosend," but not Av. *zrāda-* "ketten-panzer."

7. Base *gh(e)re-(n)d-* "rub, grind, crush."

Lith. *gréndu* "reibe, scheure," *grándau* "schabe," Lett. *grandit* "zertrümmern," Gk. *χαράδρα* "riss, spalt, kluft," *χεράς*,

-άδος, χέραδος “gerölle, kies,” Lat. *grandō* “hailstone, hail,” Skt. *hrādūni* “schlossen, hagel,” ChSl. *gradū*, Pol. *grad* “hagel,” Lith. *grōdas* “frischer, steif gefrorener strassenschmutz.” Compare OSw. *grōpa* “aushölen,” Sw. *grōpa* “schroten,” MHG. *isgrüpe* “hagelkorn,” NHG. *graupeln*, *gräupeln* “hail, drizzle.”

Here belong Dan. dial. *grotte* < **gruntan* “mahlen,” ON. *grotte* “mythische mühle” (cf. Noreen. *Urg. Lautlehre*, 188), and also Dan. *granting* “mährische person,” *grante* “leise weinen,” Sw. dial. *grättas* “grāta litet,” *grätt* “schreierisch, ungeduldig,” *grätten* “empfindlich, schwer zu befriedigen,” Norw. *gretten* “mährisch,” Icel. *grettinn* “strenge, grimmig,” etc. (cf. Tamm, *Et. Ordbook*, s. v. “grätten”).

8. Base *ghrē-dh-* “reach out, stretch out: stride; seek, strive after.”

Skt. *gṛdhya* “schreitet rasch, ist gierig,” *gardha* “gier, verlangen nach,” OIr. *ingrennim* “verfolge,” Lat. *gradior* “schreite,” Goth. *grids* “schrift,” ChSl. *grēda* “komme,” Lith. *grožiu* “suche:” ON. *grādr*, OE. *grēd* “greed,” Goth. *grēdus* “hunger,” *grēdags* “hungry,” OHG. *grātag* “intentus, gierig,” *grātida* “diligentia,” OS. *grādag* “feindselig,” OE. *grēdig* “greedy, covetous, eager for; rapacious, fierce,” *grēdan* “cry out, call out” (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.*, I², 574).

The meaning “reach out” comes from “grasp, grasp at” as in Goth. *greipan* “greifen,” Lith. *grēbiù* “wornach langen, die hand ausstrecken, greifen.” The further development is the same as in Gk. ὅπερω “reach, stretch, stretch out the hand: stride; grasp at, seek for, desire,” ὅπερμα “a stretching out: stride,” ὅπεξις “longing after, desire,” ὅπεκτός “stretched out: longed for, desired.” Compare the similar development in Lett. *gribēt* “wollen” (No. 16) and MHG. *grīt* “geiz” (No. 15).

9. Base *ghere-bh-* “touch, grasp, seize; scrape, rake, scratch, dig.”

Goth. *graban* “graben,” OHG. *graban* “graben, eingraben, begraben,” *graba* “grabscheit, spaten,” Goth. *graba* “graben,” *grōba* “grube,” ON. *grōfr*, *gráfr* “wer begraben werden darf,” OE. *græft* “sculpture, carved object,” OHG. *graft*, *gruft* “grab,” *grubilōn* “grübeln,” OSw. *grift* “grab,” ChSl. *grobū* “grube,

grab," *grebq* "grabe, kämme, rudere," Lett. *grebju* "schrape," Pol. *grabić* "harken," *za-grabić* "entreissen," Lith. *grēbiu* "harke, raffe," *grabinėju* "greife hin und her, taste herum," *grabūs* "fingerfertig," E. *grab* "plötzlich ergreifen, grapsen, raffen," *grabble* "grabbeln, herumtasten," *grapple* "packen, erfassen; anhaken, zusammenhaken," OE. *gegræppian* "ergreifen," ChSL. *grabiti* "rauben," Skt. *grbhñati* "ergreift," *grābha* "griff, handvoll," OHG. *garba* "garbe."

9a. From "scrape, scratch, dig" come the meanings "broken, rough, coarse, clumsy, big" in the following:

Lith. *grumbù, grūpti* "sich abstumpfen; (vom wege) holperig werden; (von den fingern) hart oder fühllos werden," *grubūs* "holperig, nicht glatt; ungeschickt, grob," *grublaĩ* "rauhe Unebenheiten, holpern," *grublītas* "narbig; holperig," Pol. *gruby* "dick, grob," ChSL. *grabū* "roh," E. *gruff* "rough, stern, harsh," OHG. *grob* "dick, ungeschickt, unfein," MHG. *grop* "an masse gross, dick und stark; unfein, ungebildet," *gropheit* "rauheit, unebenheit; dicke," Sw. *grufig* "schrecklich" (cf. Tamm, *Et. Ordbok*, s. v. "grov").

10. Base *ghrē-b-* "touch, grasp, seize; scrape, dig, hollow out."

MHG. *gräpen* "tasten, greifen," ON. *grápa* "zu sich raffen," *gróp* "aushöhlung," OE. *grēpe* "trench, ditch, drain; burrow," *gripu* "kettle," NHG. *grapen* "pot, kettle," Sw. *grop* "grube, gräbchen," *gropig* "grubig, holperig;" E. *grumpy* "grouty, grum, surly," Gk. *χρέμπτομαι* "räuspere mich," *χρέμψις* "hawking and spitting." Here or to the preceding belong Lett. *grābju* "harke, greife," Lith. *grōbiu* "raffe, packe," *grobē* "beute."

11. Base *ghere-ŷh-* "crush, crash, crackle, be harsh, dry."

Lith. *grēžiu* "knirsche," *grōžia* "poltert;" Gk. *χάρχαπος* "mit scharfen zähnen," *καρχαρέος* "bissig," *καρχαλέος* "rauh, heiser," *κερχαλέος* "trocken, heiser," *κέρχνως* "heiserheit," ON. *garga* "mit heiserer stimme schreien" (cf. Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.*, 217), OE. *gring* "destruction, slaughter," *gringan* "perish."

12. Base *ghrē-jo-, ghri-* "rub; smear, color; scratch, wound, cut; grate, make a harsh sound."

Gk. *χρίω* "bestreiche, salbe, farbe, schminke; verletze, ritze," *ἐγχρίω* "reibe ein, steche ein," Lith. *grēju, graistaĩ* "schöpfe

sahne von der milch, skim" (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, s. v. *χρίω*), Gk. *χρῖμα* "ointment," Dan. *grime* "strich, streifen," *grimet* "gestreift; schmutzig, besudelt," E. *grime*, ODu. *grijmsel* "schmutz, russ," Lith. *greimas* "schleimiger niederschlag im wasser;" **ghri-n-* "scrape, grate, crash:" MHG. *grīn* "lautes geschrei, gewieher," *grīnen*, OHG. *grīnan* "knurren, winseln, weinen; lachen," MDu. *grīnen* "schreien, knurren," MLFr. *grīnen* "wiehern," ON. *grīna* "greinen, grinsen," OE. *grānian*, E. *groan* "stöhnen;" **ghri-n-* "cut, divide" (compare Gk. *χρίω* "verletze, ritze"): ON. *grein* "zweig, ast; abschnitt, abteilung, stück; trennung, sonderung, scheidung; verstand, intelligentia; uneinigkeit, zwist," *greina* "unterscheiden; bestimmen; erzählen," Lith. *grynas* "rein, lauter."

13. Base *ghrei-s-*, *ghri-s-* "rub, crush; gnash, grate; smear, streak."

Skt. *hrēṣati* "wiehert," OE. *ā-grisan*, MLG. *grisen*, *gresen* "schaudern, grausen;" Ir. *grīan* <**greisano-* "gries, grober sand," Welsh *graian* "sabulum, saburra, glarea" (cf. Fick, *Wb.*, II', 117), MHG. *grīs*, OS. *gris*, *grīsil*, MLFr., Du. *grijs* "grau, greis" (primarily "streaked, gestreift" as in Dan. *grimet* "gestreift"), OE. *grislung*, OS. *grist-grimmo*, MHG. *gris-gram* "zähnekirschen," *gristen* "zerreiben, zermalmen" (cf. author, *Color-Names*, VII, 9).

14. Base *ghrei-d-*, *-dh-* "scrape, grind, crush."

OE. *grātan* "groats," ON. pret. *grēt*, *greit*, OSw. *grēt* "weinte," primarily "grate, make a harsh sound;" Gk. *κριθή* "barley-corn, barley" <*ghridhā-* "a crushing; anything crushed, grain, particle."

15. Base *ghrei-t-* "grasp at, stretch out: go rapidly; be rapacious, grasping, greedy" (cf. No. 8).

Lith. *grētas* "flink, schnell," ON. *grīd* "heftigkeit, hitze," MHG. *grīt* "habsucht, geiz," *grītic* "geizig."

16. Base *ghrei-b-* "touch, handle, take hold of, grasp, seize."

OS. *grīpan* "berühren, hand anlegen," OHG. *grīfan*, MHG. *grīfen* "tasten, fühlen; fassen, greifen," ON. *grīpa*, Goth. *greipan* "greifen, ergreifen," OE. *grīpan* "clutch, seize; understand," *grāpijan* "touch, handle, feel; grope," Lith. *grēbiū* "greife, strecke die hand aus," *graiba*" "greife umher," Lett. *gribēt* "wollen."

17. Base *ghrei-p-* "grasp, clutch, pinch."

Lith. *grypiu* "zwicke," MHG. *greibe* "herb," OE. *grēfa* "bramble, thicket, grove," *grāf* "grove, copse," Gk. *χρίμπτω* "graze, scratch, wound."

18. Base *ghrē-yo*, *ghreu-* "rub, scratch, crush."

Gk. Æol. *χραῖω* "ritze, verwunde," *ἐγχραῖω* "schlage, hinein," Cypr. *χραῖομαι* "stosse an, bin benachbart," Lat. *ingruō* "break into, attack," Lith. *griāju* "breche nieder, donnere," *griūvū* "zerfalle in Trümmer," OHG. *ingrūēn* "grauen," *grūwisiōn* "grauen empfinden" (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, s. v. *ἔχραον*; Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.*, 176).

18a. Here probably belongs Germ. *grēwa-* "gray." The primary meaning was certainly not "white, bright," but rather "scratched, streaked." So we may compare Gk. *χραῖω* "ritze, verwunde" with ON. *grár* "grau; boshart, gehässig," *grá-leikr* "bosheit," *grá-ligr* "boshart," *qs-grúa* "das aschgraue," *grjia*, OSw. *grj* "grauen, tagen," Sw. *grå* "grau; verdriesslich, ärgerlich," *gry* "dämmern, grauen," *gryning* "morgendämmerung," OHG. *grāo*, OE. *grēg* "grau." The meanings "boshart, gehässig; verdriesslich, ärgerlich" are probably not from "gray," but from "scratching, irritating; scratched, irritated," just as "gray" is from scratched, streaked." Compare the development of *greis*, No. 13.

19. Base *ghreu-n-* "crush, crash."

Lith. *gridūnu* "breche nieder, donnere," *griūnū* "zerfalle in Trümmer," ON. *gríðn*, Dan. *gryn* "grütze, gries," Sw. *grym* "grape, grütze, korn," MHG. *grien* "kiessand, sandiges ufer," OHG. *gríuna* "grausamkeit, heftigkeit," *gríunlīh* "crudelis."

20. Base *ghreu-d-* "rub, crush; feel contrition."

MHG. *griezen* "zermalmen, zerkleinern; streuen, schütten," OHG. *fergriozan* "ausstreuen," *grioz* "sandkorn, sand," MHG. *grūz* "korn," OE. *grūt* "coarse meal," *grēot* "sand, dust," *grot* "particle," ON. *grautr* "brei," *griót* "gestein," ChSl. *gruda* "scholle," Lith. *grūdas*, Lett. *grauds* "korn," Lith. *grūdžiu* "stampfe," *griaudulis* "donner," *grūdau* "härte," *graudinū* "mache hart, spröde," *grūdžiu* "stampfe; suche das Gemüth durch Ermahnung zu rühren," *graudenu* "ermahne," *graudus* "spröde;

rührend, herzbewegend," *graudžiù* "thue wehmüting," *graudoju* "jammere, wehklage," i. e., "feel crushed, contrite," OS. *griolan*, OE. *grētan* "weinen" (cf. Schade, *Wb.*; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, s. v. *χρύσος*; Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.*, 176).

20a. From "rub, scrape" comes the meaning "rough, coarse" and hence "big, large, great." So we may refer to this base OE. *grēat* "thick, stout, bulky, big," OHG., MHG. *grōz* "dick, ungeschickt gross und dick; bedeutsam, stark," OS. *grōt* "gross." Compare *grob*, No. 9a.

20b. From "rub, wear away, dig out" comes "hole, hollow," etc.: Sw. *gryt* "steinhaufe; höhle," *gryta* "topf, kochtopf," ON. *grýta*, Dan. *gryde* "hafen, grapen," OE. *grutt* "gulf, abyss." Compare No. 5.

21. Base *ghreu-s-* "crush, crash."

OE. *grēosn* "gravel, pebble," OSw., Sw. *grus* "gries, kies, schutt," Sw. *grusa* "mit gries oder kies befahren oder beschütten; in schutt verwandeln, zerstören," MHG. *grüs* "grauen, schrecken," OHG. *grüsōn* "grauen empfinden," OE. *gryre* "terror, horror," *gryrran* "chatter" (of teeth), *grornian* "mourn, murmur," *grorn* "sad; grief," OS. *gruri* "schreck," *groron* "trauern, klagen."

22. Base *ghreu-b-* "rub, crush; cut, dig."

Dan. *grøpe*, Sw. *gröpa* "schroteten," *gröpe* "schrot," late MHG. *is-grüpe* "hagelkorn," NHG. *graupe* "peeled grain or barley," *graupeln* "hail, drizzle," ON. *greypr*, *graupr* "grimmig, grausam," *greypa* "in einander fugen, einzapfen, falzen; hart behandeln," OSw. *grøpa* "aushöhlen," OE. *grype* "trench, ditch," MHG. (md.) *gropē*, *groppe* "weiter eiserner kochtopf."

23. Base *ghreu-p-* "rub, crush; dig, hollow out, deepen."

ON. *gryfia* "höhle, grube," *grūfa* "prone, groveling," *grūfa* "sich niederbeugen," *grifa*, *greyfa* "niederwerfen, niedergebeugen," *grufla* "krabbeln, kriechen," OE. *grēofa* "kettle," i. e., "aushöhlung, vertiefung," OHG. *griobo*, *griupo*, MHG. *griube*, *griebe* "griebe, grieve," i. e., "piece, particle, scrap."

24. Base *ghreu-ŷh-* "crush, crash."

Lith. *grāužiu*, *gridaužiu* "näge, beisse ab," *grāužas* "grandacker," *graužlinis* "grandig," *graužėlis* "kies, kleines sand-

steinchen," Pol. *grysć* "nagen, peinigen, beißen, stechen," *gruzel* "klumpen, erdkloss," ChSl. *gryzq* "beisse," MHG. *groge-zen* "heulen, wehklagen," ME. *grugge* "murmur," E. *grudge* "groll."

25. If we examine the meanings that come from the base *ghero-*, we shall see that apparently synonymous words develop along different lines.

a) From "touch, rub: smear, streak" come: Gk. *χραίνω* "touch; smear, stain, spot, paint," *χραυτός* "stained, defiled."—Gk. *χράξω* "touch: tinge, stain; defile;" *χρωτίζω* "color, dye, tint."—Welsh *gwrm* "dark, black," Ir. *gorm* "blue" (No. 4).—Gk. *χρίω* "touch: rub, anoint; color, whitewash," *χρῆμα* "ointment," E. *grime*, ADu. *grijmsel* "schmutz, russ," Dan. *grime* "strich, streifen;" OS., MHG. *gris* "grau, greis" (Nos. 12, 13).—Gk. *χραίω* "ritze:" OHG. *grāo* "grau" (No. 18a).

b) Closely connected with the above is the development "touch, touching, grazing; surface, complexion, color; edge, border, boundary:" Gk. *χρῶμα* "surface, skin; complexion; color;" *χρώς, -τός* "surface, skin; complexion," Lith. *gratas, gretas*, "neben einander," *grete*, "das angrenzen, die Nähe."—Gk. *χρίμπτω* "graze, scratch: draw near, approach.—Cypr. *χραιόμαι, χραύσομαι* "touch, be neighbor to."

c) From "rub, grind, grate" come words for "gravel, grit, sand," and hence "sediment, dregs, grounds; rubbish, dirt, filth," etc.: Gk. *χερπᾶς* "stone, pebble," *χερᾶς*, *χέραδος* "sand, gravel; rubbish brought down by the river," OHG. *gor* "mist, dünger," OE. *gor* "dirt, dung," ON. *gor* "excrements intestinorum," *gorm* "dreck, schlamm," Dan. *grums* "bodensatz," *grumset* "trübe, mit bodensatz vermischt," Sw. *grums* "rückstand, seihe, schmutz," *grummel* "schmutz, bodensatz," *grumla* "trüben," ON. *grómr* "schmutz, dreck;" Lith. *gródas* "gefrorener strassenschmutz;" Norw. *graks* "bodensatz" (cf. Nos. 2, 7, 11).—Lith. *greimas* "jeder schleimige niederschlag im wasser" (No. 12).—ON., Norw. *grugg* "bodensatz" (cf. No. 18).—MHG. *griezen* "zermalmen; schütten," MLFr. *gruut* "grütze, hefe," Norw. *grut* "bodensatz," Sw. *grötig* "breiig; verworren, unklar, wirrig," E. *grouts* "lees, dregs, grounds" (cf. No. 20).—

OSw., Sw. *grus* "gries, kies; schutt," Sw. *grusa* "in schutt verwandeln," Dan. *grus* "schutt" (No. 21). NHG, *gries, grus, grieseln* are perhaps a contamination of 20 and 21.—NHG. *graupeln, gräupeln* "sleet, hail, drizzle" (No. 22).—OHG. *griobo* "griebe, grieve" (No. 23).—In *a* and *b*, and in *a* and *c*, we have phonetic equivalents with similar meanings, and yet these meanings are quite different in development.

d) In the same way words for "weep, groan, howl, mourn" fall into different classes: (1) those in which the primary meaning is "grate, creak, crash," etc.; (2) those that are descriptive of the outward signs of pain, grief, or rage, such as gnashing the teeth, uttering harsh, grating sound, etc.; (3) those in which the primary meaning is "feel crushed, afflicted." Examples of (1) and (2), which are very closely connected, may be found under Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 19, 21, 24. Examples of (3) are seen in No. (20). We see, therefore, that Goth. *grētan* is in its primary meaning as far removed from OS. *griotan*, OE. *grētan*, as it is in its form.

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GLASTONBURY AND THE HOLY GRAIL.

IN Professor Birch-Hirschfeld's notable work on the legend of the Holy Grail, the romance *Perlesvaus* was set down as one of the latest and least original of the entire French Grail cycle.¹ This opinion has since been variously accepted and repeated. That it is, however, in part erroneous was shown by Heinzel² in 1891, and data pointing to a similar conclusion were adduced by the present writer in a recent study on the subject.³ However unoriginal the romance may be, it was certainly composed as early as several of its rivals for fame, and probably it represents the real transition from the purely romantic conception of Crestien de Troyes to the ascetic, ecclesiastical ideal of the writers of the *Quête* and the *Grand St. Graal*. The following material is presented in further support of this view, and more particularly as throwing light on the birth-place of the romance itself.

It was Zarncke⁴ who first pointed out that the *seinte messon de religion* in the *ille d'Avalon* from which the author of the *Perlesvaus* affirms⁵ that he derived the Latin original of his text was probably a religious institution in the town of Glastonbury. The mediæval texts have long since made evident the rather general identification, at least in England, of Glastonbury and Avalon during the twelfth century and thereafter. The interesting passages bearing upon this question and upon the legendary history of Glastonbury have been conclusively discussed by Professor Baist⁶ and M. Lot.⁷ On more than one occasion the former scholar⁸ has expressed the opinion that in the twelfth century

¹ *Die Sage vom Gral* (Leipzig, 1877), chap. 4.

² *Ueber die französischen Grailromane* (Vienna, 1891), p. 176.

³ *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902.

⁴ Cf. *Paul u. Braunes Beiträge*, Vol. III, p. 317.

⁵ Ed. POTVIN, p. 347.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XIX, pp. 326 ff.

⁷ *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 529 ff. Consult also ZARNCKE, *op. cit.*, pp. 317, 329; *Glaire*, p. 322, should be identified with *Glaies*.

⁸ *L. c. and Litteraturblatt*, 1892, p. 160.

Glastonbury witnessed the production of an ecclesiastical Arthur story which was based on the *Perceval* of Crestien, and which brought the latter romance into relation with the local legend of Joseph of Arimathea and his brethren as founders of Glastonbury Abbey. By this story Baist means the *Perlesvaus*, as is evident from his account of the work in question. Furthermore, in a recent private communication he again¹ remarks that a version of this particular Arthur story is preserved in Johannis Glastoniensis, whose chronicle was written during the first part of the fifteenth century.² It is my purpose here to set forth the importance of this discovery by adducing several additional facts which bear on this interesting question.

The MS from which William of Malmesbury derived his explanation of the name of Glastonbury dates, according to Lot, from the twelfth century, while the genealogies it adduces are not posterior to the tenth century. One of these genealogies

¹ The fact is also mentioned in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XIX, p. 344.

² Out of deference to Professor Baist's claims of priority, I shall not publish here the passage in question. However, inasmuch as he merely mentions the fact without giving any references, I will state that the passage may be found in HEARNE'S edition of Johannis, pp. 77 ff. (Oxford, 1726), a copy of which is in the Harvard Library. It amounts practically to an original Latin version of Arthur's visit to the chapel of St. Austin (including the curious dream of the squire) which constitutes the first and principal episode of the *Perlesvaus* (ed. POTVIN, Vol. I, pp. 4 ff.; an outline of this episode may be found in my study of the work, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-5). One important feature, however, of this Latin version should be noted: Arthur meets no damsels at the edge of the wood, and consequently no mention is made of Perceval. Evidently this is the point where the author of *Perlesvaus* fused the *Perceval* story with the local legend of Arthur's visit to St. Austin's chapel. Johannis further reports that Arthur brought back to Glastonbury a crystal cross, *quae usque in hunc diem, de dono ejusdem regis, in thesauria Glastoniæ honorifice collocatur et custoditur* (cf. BAIST, *l. c.*).

There are two passages in Johannis which refer directly to the Holy Grail. The more interesting of them runs as follows (p. 55): "Joseph ab Armathia, nobilem decurionem, cum filio suo, Josephes dicto, et aliis pluribus, in majorem Britanniam, quae nunc Anglia dicta est, venisse, et ibidem vitam finisse, testatur liber de gestis incliti regis Arthurii (cf. BAIST, *l. c.*, p. 340—evidently a compilation) in inquisitione scilicet ejusdem illustris militis, dicti Lancelot de Lac (this may be connected with the tenth 'branch' of the *Perlesvaus*, the leading feature of which is an intrigue against Lancelot) socios rotundae tabulae videlicet, ubi quidam Heremita exponit Walwano ministerium ejusdem fontis, saporem et calorem crebro mutantis (cf. similar episode, *Perlesvaus*, p. 73); ubi et scribatur, quod miraculum illud non terminaretur, donec veniret magnus leo, qui et collum magnis vinculis haberet constrictum. Item in sequentibus, in inquisitione vasim quod ibi vocant *Sanctum Graal*, refertur fere in principio, ubi albus miles exponit Galata, filio Lancelot, ministerium ejusdem mirabilis scuti, quod eidem deferendum commisit, quod nemo alius, sine gravi dispendio, ne una quidem die poterat portare" (cf. QUETE; SKEAT, in his edition of *Joseph of Arimathea*, p. xxi, has identified this part of the passage).

The second passage tells (p. 51) how Philip (*apostolum in Gallias*), wishing to convert Great Britain, sent thither twelve of his followers: "quibus carissimum amicum suum Joseph praedictum, qui Dominum sepelivit una cum filio suo Josephes praefecit. Venerunt

derives the word *Glaston* from a certain *Glast*. *Glast*, which is *Glas* in Irish, meaning "gray," and was frequently used as the name of a man, is thus probably an eponym invented to explain the name of the town. The genealogy makes Glast one of twelve brothers, of whom Glast is the last-born. The passage in William's chronicle goes on to say that Glast, the son of Cas, was a swineherd of the king of Hirnath, and first came to the place which bears his name in search of one of his pigs which had gone astray. This story supposedly came from Ireland and was transmitted to England proper through Welsh mediums. It is thought that in the original version Cas was the son¹ of Glast, and that the persons given by William of Malmesbury as Glast's brothers were in reality his descendants, the change being due to the confusion of the word *mac* ("son") with *map* ("brother").

Now, whatever the origin of this account may be, the *Perlesvaus* contains a striking analogy to Glast and his line in the name given Perceval's paternal grandfather, the father of the well-known Alain. According to what is probably the best MS of the *Perlesvaus*, he is called *Glais*,² the other MSS giving the form *Gais*. *Glais*, who is not, I believe, mentioned in any other Grail or Arthurian romance thus far known,³ has twelve sons, the

autem cum eis (ut legitur in libro, qui Sanctum Graal appellatur) sescenti, et amplius, tam viri quam feminae qui omnes vatum voverant, quod ab uxoribus propriis abstinerunt, quousque terram, sibi delegatam, ingressi fuissent. Quod tamen praevaricati sunt omnes, praster centum quinquaginta qui, jubente Domino, mare super camisiam ipsius Josephes transentes in nocte resurrectionis Dominicæ, applicerunt in mane. Aliis autem poenitentibus, et Joseph memorato pro eis orante, missa est navis a Domino, quam rex Salomon artificioso suo tempore fabricaverunt, in qua die eadem ad suos socios pervenerunt cum quodam duce Medorum, nomine Vaciano, quem Joseph prius baptisaverat in civitate Sarraz, cum rege ejusdem civitatis, cui nomen Modrains.

Philip is of course the St. Philip of the *Grand St. Graal* (cf. NUTT, *Legend of the Holy Graal*, p. 54); the *Vita Dunstanni* of the tenth century (cf. LOT, *op. cit.*, p. 54) lets Philip and twelve apostles come to England and William of Malmesbury (GALE, *Hist. Britann. Script.*, Vol. I, p. 292) mentions Joseph and twelve others sent by Philip.

In the second Interpolation of Pseudo-Gautier (cf. HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 189) Joseph and his friends come to England in a rudderless ship (cf. Perceval's ship in *Perlesvaus*, p. 227). The passage in the ship was later changed to one on Joseph's shirt (cf. *Grand St. Graal*). Here we have a combination of the two notions. Solomon's ship occurs also in the *Quete* (NUTT, p. 49) and the *Grand St. Graal* (NUTT, p. 59). The story of Sarraz and Modrains is found in the *Quete*, the *Grand St. Graal* and in Manessier portion of the *Perceval* (NUTT, pp. 19 ff.). *Vaciano* is probably Vespasian.

¹Instead of being his father, as above.

²Berne MS.

³*Glais*, however, is used in French for the place name; cf. the *Grand St. Graal*, which says that Joseph is buried in the "abbey of Glais" in Scotland. The English *Joseph of Arimathie* makes the statement that Joseph was buried there, and that the place is now known as "Glastynberg."

youngest of whom is Alain. I therefore venture to uphold Baist's suggestion that the *Perlesvaus* originated in Glastonbury or thereabout, and to suggest further that its author chose the current eponym of the place to fill out his genealogy of the Grail family. As to the twelve sons of Glais, they have also a parallel in the twelve male children of Brons and Enygeus in Robert's *Joseph*.¹ There, however, Alain is at first vowed to chastity and finally marries only in order to beget Perceval—incidents, it seems, which would have appealed strongly to our author's mystic temperament, had he been acquainted with them. A further point indicating this independent strain (from Robert) is the fact that our author evidently still considered the Fisher-King's mother as Joseph's sister, that is, Veronica, *mulier Veronica*—possibly *domina Veronica*—the influence of which name is very likely to be seen in that of *Danbran(n)*, *Dindrane*,² given in our romance to Perceval's sister. As to *Glais*, *Yglais*, the name of Perceval's mother is either directly modeled on it, or else *Enygeus*—the mother of Perceval according to Robert and the Grand St. Graal—has here been altered to agree with it. The form *Ygloas*, the variant at times used in the Brussels MS of our romance, is an attempt again to differentiate the two names. Thus we have the entire Grail pedigree of the *Perlesvaus* explained with the exception of certain of Alain's brothers. Four of the latter have been previously identified,³ and a fifth, Bertholez *li chaus*, is, in all probability, the Bertolais mentioned in the *Livre d'Artus*,⁴ a knight of Leodegan's court.

In our romance Joseph of Arimathea generally goes under the name of *Joseph d'Abarimacie*, a form which is evidently taken directly from the Latin. This form occurs elsewhere only in the prose paraphrase of Robert's *Joseph*. Robert himself gives *Joseph de Berimathie*, which is further removed from the Latin. *Abarimacie* (or *Abarmacie*) is doubtless a mistaken reading of *ab Ar(i)mathia*. Now, the Glastonbury documents refer to Joseph

¹ Cf. "Livre d'Artus" (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XVII), where Perceval has eleven brothers.

² HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 94. *Veronica* > *Bron(e)* in French and was confused with the Celtic *Bran*. *Dame Brane* would have given *Danbran(e)*.

³ Cf. my study, p. 110.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XVII.

always as *Joseph ab Arimathia* or *Armathia*.¹ But beyond the mention of Joseph in connection with the crucifixion, which I have shown to be referable to Robert de Borron,² the account of him in our romance is meager. As our author gives him the title of "Fisher-King" (*roi peschierres*),³ he probably thought of him as being at one time of his career at the Grail Castle in Wales. It seems certain, too, that Joseph is the knight whom Perceval finds reposing in the *ille plentureuse* ("Earthly Paradise"), as Heinzel has suggested.⁴ The *Josephus* whose body is found in a tomb near the Grail Castle is possibly his son Josephe, whom the later Glastonbury legend associates with his father in the conversion of England and the founding of the Lady Chapel in Glastonbury.⁵ In line with this incident of Joseph's life is the fact that our author constantly refers to a special Grail "chapel," which is said to be dedicated to the Virgin and in which the relics of Calvary are claimed to be kept, including the Holy Grail⁶ itself.

The rôle of *Josephus*, however, is of relatively greater importance in our work than that of Joseph. It is *Josephus'* to whom we owe the tale; he wrote it down at the dictation of an angel; he vouches for the truth of the adventures related; he knows of others which are not told here; he was the first person to celebrate the holy sacrament (p. 113); he explains to Gawain the allegory of his adventures, and he is known as *le bon clerc* and *le bon hermite*. Twice the text calls him simply *Joseph*, and twice he is called *Josephe(s)*; but these variants may be scribal blunders. Nevertheless, it is now generally supposed⁷ that the confusion of the two Josephs—Joseph of Arimathea and Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian—gave rise to the legend of Joseph and his son Josephe mentioned above, which is also preserved in the *Quête* and the *Grand St. Graal*. M. Lot goes so far⁸ even as to suggest

¹ JOHANNIS GLASTONIENSIS, p. 55.

² Op. cit., pp. 39 ff.

³ P. 340.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 17; cf. also the remarks about Perceval's shield, *Perlesvaus*, p. 328.

⁵ JOHANNIS, p. 51; see note above. Also Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, in SKEAT'S *Joseph*, pp. 68, 69, 70.

⁶ In this connection it is noteworthy that over the entrance to the Grail Castle, Gawain sees statues of the Virgin and of St. John (*Perlesvaus*, p. 83). This conception of the Grail as a relic is primitive.

⁷ *Perlesvaus*, pp. 7, 79, 107, 113, 215, 305, 314, 318.

⁸ HEINZEL, op. cit., p. 107.

⁹ L. c., p. 541.

that the name of Joseph of Arimathea crept into the *Antiquitates Glastoniensis* through a mistaken reading of Flavius Josephus mentioned by the chronicler Freculf¹ (on whom the *Antiquitates* drew) as the authority for his own work. In the *Perlesvaus* the two personages are still kept distinct by the surname *clers*, the "learned," given to Josephus, but, on the other hand, the latter is brought spiritually near to Joseph through the story of his having celebrated the first mass. Hence we may suppose that the change from Josephus to Josephe, though set on foot by our author, was not accomplished by him, since, like Robert de Borron, he never speaks of Joseph's "son." This last step—from Josephe to Joseph's son—was not taken until the appearance of the later Grail works, whence the idea was probably carried into the Glastonbury records of a more recent date.²

Another of the moot questions bound up with the Grail problem is the relationship of King Pelles and his line to the Grail dynasty. The *Quête* gives no less than three different accounts of this relationship, corresponding in all probability to three distinct versions of the work. In the earliest, a Welsh translation of a now lost French original, King Pelles is the grandfather of the Grail hero through the marriage of his daughter with Lancelot. In the second, Furnivall's edition, he is mentioned at first as Galahad's grandfather, but afterward as his uncle; he is also here the "Lame King," and lives at Corbenic when Lancelot comes there. A third version, that summarized by Birch-Hirschfeld, again makes him the grandfather of Galahad, but identifies Corbenic, his abode, with the Grail Castle. Compared with the *Quête*, the *Grand St. Graal* relegates Pelles to a relatively inferior position. In accordance with this, Alain leaves the Grail to his brother Josue, with the title of "Fisher-King," and the latter's descendants are Aminadap, Catheloy, Manaal, Lambor, Pelleams (the "Lame King"), and finally Pelles, by whose daughter Lancelot has Galahad. Finally our romance gives what appeals to me as the earliest and least altered account of Pelles and Josue, although the commentators, including Heinzel, have for some unknown

¹ Vol. II, chap. 4 (cf. MIGNE, Vol. CVI, pp. 1140 ff.).

² Cf. note above; Johannis mentions the *Quête*.

reason left it out of consideration. Here Pelles is the brother of Yglais, consequently the uncle of Perceval and the brother of the Fisher-King; he is a hermit and lives in the forest. This is an evident imitation of Crestien, who, to be sure, does not call by name either of Perceval's uncles, but makes them brothers of his mother (whose name is also omitted), the one being the Fisher-King, and the other a hermit. According to our romance, however, Pelles was originally the king of the "Low Folk" (*la basse gente*), a position which he resigned for the cowl when his son committed matricide. The castle in which he reigned, and which has been on fire ever since the dreadful crime, Perceval passes in a ship on his return from the Earthly Paradise. Later on in the *Perlesvaus* the "Hermit King," as Pelles is then called, becomes the ruler of the Plenteous Isle, whence he is finally advanced to a "higher realm," because of his good conduct. When Gawain first meets him in the forest, he is already a hermit in the service of the Holy Grail, wherefore he seems never to grow old, for "the place in which it is kept is very mild;" Perceval, too, has recently been stopping at his hermitage.¹ At this meeting Pelles informs Gawain that Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father, had knighted him and that he bore arms two-score years before turning hermit. This warlike quality is inherited by his son, who, although a priest, assists Perceval in his final assault on the Grail Castle over the nine bridges. When the castle is taken, the latter takes up his abode there with Perceval. It is thus evident that the son's name (Joshua) originated in his double rôle of priest and warrior on which the romance lays such stress. The name, once brought into connection with the Grail, persisted in the legend long after the incidents which had suggested it had been dropped. Thus it comes in the *Grand St. Graal* to be a meaningless link in the necessarily long genealogy of the Grail family.

But how did Pelles, king of the Low Folk, become identified with Perceval's hermit uncle? Or were the two originally one, and did Crestien merely suppress the name Pelles in order to reveal it at the close of his work, which was never completed? To

¹ Cf. my study, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.

these questions we shall probably never receive a satisfactory answer. But, at all events, the name Pelles appears to be of Welsh derivation. Rhys connects it with Pwyll of the Mabinogi¹ of that name. Heinzel did not give much credence to this suggestion; nevertheless, in the light of the above facts it has much to recommend it beyond the mere similarity of names. The Mabinogion² relate how Pwyll, being a great hunter and woodsman, one day became separated from his companions and met Arawn, king of Hades, with whom he agreed to exchange kingships for a year. Ever afterward, the story runs, the title of "Head of Hades" clung to him. A name linked with his is that of Teyrn Twrf-vlant, who is one of his vassals. The epithet "Twrf-vlant," according to Rhys, reappears in Malory³ as the Castle of Blyaunt—and this abode it was that Pelles gave Lancelot to inhabit with his daughter Elayne in the Joyous Isle. Pwyll, too, had a fairy wife called Rhianon. She finally gives birth to a son, who is, however, snatched away by unseen hands on the night he is born. For years the mother is made to suffer on account of his disappearance, until one day he returns a full-grown lad and establishes her innocence. His name is Pryderi, meaning "anxiety." It is not difficult to detect the vestiges of such a tale in the incidents of the career of Pelles given above. Pelles spends his days in the Lonely Forest and at the Grail Castle, where "one never grows old;" he was once king of the Low Folk (Hades), but has now grown perfect and comes to rule over a higher realm—all of which is an evident attempt to redeem the character; his son is very bold and warlike, and in a fit of anger has slain his own mother, for whose death he does penance—a change possibly due to a confusion of the characters of mother and son. Further, as Rhys notes, Pelles, like Pwyll, is concerned in the Enchantments of Britain which are a favorite theme of Welsh tradition.⁴ Hence we may say our author fused with his recollection of Crestien's hermit-uncle scattered elements of a story resembling the Welsh legend of Pwyll and Pryderi.

¹ *Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 233.

² Translation by LADY CHARLOTTE GUEST (London, 1877), pp. 339 ff.

³ Vol. XII, pp. 5, 6.

⁴ RHYS, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

Another feature of the romance which points to a Welsh source is found in the name *Pannenoisance*. Aside from the places Arthur visits on his various expeditions, his residences, according to our author, number three: Carduel, Camaalot, and Pannenoisance.¹ The second may be omitted from the discussion, since the author refers to it only incidentally as mentioned "in other works," perhaps even it was interpolated into the text by the French translator or by a late scribe. Inasmuch as Carduel is the site of the Arthurian court in Crestien (*Perceval*), the last place alone remains to be identified. Apparently this is peculiar to our romance, not being found in any other Arthurian or Grail work with which I am acquainted. The Welsh text² gives the name as *Penneis(s)ence*. It cannot be Penvro (Pembroke) or Penrith, as neither of these would satisfy the etymology. Moreover, the author says it is situated on the Sea of Wales, and Penrith lies far inland in Cumberland. However, its supposed location on the sea suggests that it is Penzance,³ near Land's End in Cornwall. With this name it also agrees in form: the additional syllable in Penneisence being a sort of glide, such as in Penevric (= Penvro), which eventually became *ei*, finally *oi* in this particular form. That the original was probably not recognized in *Penneisence* is shown by the reproduction of the French form by the Welsh translator of the fourteenth century.

The last point I wish to consider before a final summing up is our author's account of Avalon itself: in what respects does it correspond to the real Glastonbury of the close of the twelfth century? The romance says that the house in which the Latin text was found *siet au chief des mores aventureuses la ou li roi Artus et la roine Guenievre gissent* (p. 347). This description agrees strikingly with the story vouched for in 1191 by Henry II, the Angevin lord of England, that the tombs of Arthur and his queen could actually be seen in Glastonbury, and Glastonbury was known to be in a marshy country. When Lancelot comes to the *leus d'Avalon* (probably for *illes d'A.*), he finds it situated in a

¹ Tintagel is also visited by Arthur; for our author's account of it consult DICKINSON, *King Arthur in Cornwall* (London, 1900), p. 60, note.

² Cf. WILLIAMS, *Y Seiat Greal* (London, 1876), p. 560.

³ I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Henry Todd.

valley in the midst of deep forests (p. 262); the chapel there, which is dedicated to the Virgin, had recently been renovated at the request of Guenevere, who had died before Lancelot's arrival; Lot(h), Arthur's son, is also buried in this chapel (p. 222). Here again we have a substantial agreement with the twelfth-century account of Glastonbury, inasmuch as we saw above that Joseph was reputed to have founded there the principal chapel in honor of the Virgin. According to another record,¹ concerning Joseph's burial in Glastonbury, the latter's tomb contained two vessels filled with some of the blood and sweat of the Savior (*cruore prophete Jhesu et sudore perimpleta*). In the light of this fact, it is, perhaps, no mere accident that, besides the blood in the Grail, the author of *Perlesvaus* places some of our Lord's blood and a piece of his shroud in the boss of Perceval's shield, which he claims was put there by Joseph of Arimathea, to whom the shield originally belonged.

We now see the important part played by Glastonbury and its traditions in the transformation of the French Grail episode into the mystical English church allegory we have in the *Perlesvaus*. The Grail, according to Crestien a popular talisman such as the German *Tischlein-deck'-dich*, as yet but vaguely associated with the tragedy of Calvary, became in the hands of the unknown Glastonbury zealot the expression of the British religious ideal with its strong leaning to abstraction and mysticism. This national characteristic is at once set forth in the initial episode of the work, in Arthur's ride to St. Austin's chapel, and it later finds an echo in the romances of the *Quête* and *Grand St. Graal*, the author of the latter of which tacitly claims that his work—due to Christ himself—is superior to the gospels. The same feature is to be seen in other incidents of the story. Arthur beholds two suns in the sky symbolizing the union of church and state;² he also introduces into Britain the use of the chalice during mass, after having seen the first chalice at the Grail Castle, where he beheld at the same time the first church bells, brought thither from the Land of Promise by three "Gregories"³ in honor of the holy Trinity.³

¹ Cf. HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

² *Perlesvaus*, p. 218.

³ *Id.*, p. 250.

History tells us that Glastonbury, made famous in the tenth century by its Irish ecclesiastics, was a century later reduced to dire straits through the opposition of the Norman see of Canterbury. To maintain its independence, the abbey was forced to fabricate various charters and diplomas which were given out as authentic, and a goodly number of which survive to this day in William of Malmesbury. Furthermore, it set up the claim that St. Patrick had been a visitor to its shrines, and that other Irish saints had come thither to sojourn. Toward the beginning of the twelfth century the monks began to link Welsh names to the history of the place. Those of Gildas, the Welsh historian, and David, the great saint, were used to heighten the abbey's fame and increase its revenues.¹ And finally Arthur, such as he lived in Welsh legend surrounded by Kay, Lucan, and Urien, appears in the local records, and his grave is pointed out in the church-yard of the abbey. What wonder, then, that Henry II, to whom Canterbury must have been a thorn in the flesh since his tragic experience with Becket, should have lent his support to whatever claims the monks of Glastonbury chose to put forth. And further, it should not surprise us that some pious monk saw in the popular Grail theme the means of strengthening these claims by welding it to the local Arthur legend and imputing the completed tale to an imaginary work inspired by Heaven and said to be among the books of the abbey.

That the *Perlesvaus* is thus in its original Latin form (now lost) the immediate successor of Crestien's *Perceval* can, I think, no longer be denied. The *Didot-Perceval*, the *Grand St. Graal*, and the *Quête* are assuredly not its literary antecedents. The episodes which it has in common with Gautier and Pseudo-Gautier were possibly added to it at a later date, as a number of other features doubtless were. As for Robert's *Joseph*, the agreements here may be due to the fact that, as Baist affirms, Robert himself wrote the account of the so-called "Early History" as given in our romance.²

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¹Cf. LOT, I. c.

²Baist makes this statement in a private communication. The relationship of the *Perlesvaus* and the original *Joseph* of Robert I shall consider in a separate article.

SONGS OF THE SPANISH JEWS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA.¹

VIII.²

Arvoléra, mi arvoléra,
Tan galana i tan džentil:
La rais tyēne di oru
I la rama di marfil.
En la ramika mas čika
Sta la dama tan džentil,
Pefiandusi lus sus kaveyus
Kon un peñi di marfil.
Por ayi pasó un kavayéru
Kē asimežava³ a Amadi:
“Asi bivas, kavayéru,
Si vistiš a Amadi ?”
“Byen lu vidi i lu konosku,—
Letra mandava kon mi !”
“Kwantu dyéraš, la mi sifiora,
Kē volu trušéra aki ?”
“Dyéra yō lus trēs mil dukadus
Kē mi kedarun di Amadi.”
“Mas dyéraš, la mi sifiora,
Kē volu trušéra aki !”
“Dyéra yō lus trēs mulinus
Kē mi kedarun di Amadi:
El unu muěli kaněla
I el otru muěli džinfil;⁴
El mas čikitiku di eyus
Muěli arina para Amadi.”
“Mas dyéraš, la mi sifiora,
Kē volu trušéra aki !”
“Dyéra yō lus mis trēnsadus
Kon mi peñi di marfil.”
“Mas dyéraš, la mi sifiora,
Kē volu trušéra aki !”
“Dyéra yō las trēs fižikas⁵
Kē mi kedarun di Amadi:

¹Concluded from Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 205-18.

²Another version is given in Danon's collection. ³S. *semejar*. ⁴“Clove.” ⁵S. *hijica*.

La una meti la meza
 I la otra para servir;
 La mas čikitika di eyas
 Para folgar i dormir."
 "Dyēraš vos el vwestru kuerpu
 Kē volu trušera aki ?"
 "A mal vaya el kavayēru
 Kē estu fue a dezir !"
 "No vus aravyeš, la mi sifora,
 Kē yō so vwestru maridu Amadi !"
 "Una vēs kē soš¹ mi maridu,
 Kē siñal davaš a mi ?"
 "Debašo del peču syerdu²
 Un kavēyu vos akušaka³ a mi."

IX.⁴

Mi padri ēra di Brusa
 Mi madri di Aragon:
 Kazarunsi endžuntus,⁵
 Nasyērami yō.
 Mihamá⁶ kē ēra regalada.
 En čika mi kazó,
 Dyēra mi por maridu
 A un riku pastor.
 Al vēz di kazadu
 Su vertud amostró;
 El si komia la karni,
 Lus gwēsizikus⁷ yō;
 El si komia el pan blanku,
 I el morēnu yō;
 El si komia el pēsi
 I las espinikas yō;
 El si bevia el vinu,
 I la agwa yō;
 El si ečava en la kama,
 I en el terēnu yō.
 Al fin di medža noči
 Al agwa mē mandó:
 Al suniziku⁸ de la agwa
 Durmyēra mi yō.

¹ S. "Sois."² "Left."³ "To tie."⁴ Another version is given in Danon's collection.⁵ S. juntos.⁶ "Because."⁷ S. huesecico.⁸ "Murmuring."

Por ayi pasó un kavayēru,
Trés bizikus mi dió.
Gway di mi, dizvinturada,
Kē pekadus fizyēra yō ?
Si mi maridu lu savi,
Matada seré yō !
Antis ke el mi mati,
Matarmi kēro yō .
“Ni vos mateš, mi siñora,
Ni tenes porkē vos matar,
Kē yō so vwestru maridu,
Vwestru riku pastor !”

X.

Mi madri salyó a la luna
Por ver mi bwena vintura
En el lunar,
Kē la luna al kavayēru
A medža noči al bel lunar.

Mi madri salyó a la estrēya
Por ver mi bwena planeta
En el lunar, etc.

“Nōn es, mi madri, la luna,
Sinōn mi bwena vintura
En el lunar, etc.”

“Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
Kē la toka yō lē vidi
En el lunar, etc.”

“Nōn es, mi madri, la toka,
Sinōn mi kara redōnda
En el lunar, etc.”

“Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
Kē la espada yō lē vidi
En el lunar, etc.”

“Nōn es, mi madri, la espada,
Sinōn mi bella garganta
En el lunar, etc.”

“Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
Kē el kavayu yō lē vidi
En el lunar, etc.”

“Nōn es, mi madri, el kavayu,
Sinōn mis bellus trēnsadus
En el lunar, etc.”

“Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
Kē al ladu volu vidi
En el lunar, etc.”

“I si milu viteš al ladu,
Mi padri milu merkó
Por un dukadu
En el lunar, etc.”

XI.¹

Alkansar al kavayēru,
Alkansar komu sayeta,
En lugar di ir a la karsil
Ondi la rēna se ia.
Topó la rēna en kavēyus,
En kavēyus i trēnsadus,
Peñandu lus sus trēnsadus
Kon un peñi di oru maru,²
I un espežu muy lindu,
Kē en el resta su peñadu,
Dandu loōris al Dyó alto,
Kē tan linda la a kreadu.
El rē por burlar kon eya
Kon el verdugu lē a dadu.
“Stati, stati, Andarlētu,
Mi pulidu inamoradu !
Dōs fižikus di ti tengu
I dōs del rē, kē son kwatru.
Lus del rē suvin kavayu,
I lus tuyus mula i kavayu;
Lus del rē komin en mēza,
I lus tuyus al mi ladu;
Lus del rē van a la gēra,
I lus tuyus al mi ladu;
Lus del rē yevan espada,
I lus tuyus spada i endoradu.³
Mas ti kēro i mas ti amo
Kē non al rē kon su rēnadu:
El rē mi dava dinerus

¹ Another version is given in Danon's collection.

² “Puro.”

³ (?)

I tu mi davas dukadus.”
 Boltó su kara a la rēna,
 Topó si al rē al ladu.
 “Perdon, perdon, siñor rē!
 Todu estu kē yō a favladu
 Kē a noči, a medža noči,
 Todu estu melu a soñadu.”
 “Ya telu perdoní, la rēna,
 Kon la kavēsa a un ladu.”
 Mandó a yamar a Andarlētu,
 Su pulidu inamoradu.
 “Komu farēmus, Andarlētu,
 Kē el rē mus a aminazadu?
 Para mi topí remedžu,
 Para vos, andá i bušká vus!”
 A mal vaygan las mužeris
 Kē en ombri si an kunfiadu:—
 Tenyendu al rē por maridu
 Xwé a buškar inamoradu.
 “Mas ti kero i mas ti amo
 Kē non al rē kon su rēnadu!”
 Estas palavras dizyendu
 La kavēsa lē a kortadu;
 Estas palavras favlandu
 La kavēsa lē ečó a su ladu.

XII.¹

Yō kaminí por altas maris,
 Navigi por las fortunas,
 Kayf mi en sivdat ažena,
 Ondi nōn mi kunosian.
 Fayarun mi dōs dženeralis,
 Lus mas grandis di Turkia:
 “Kē buškavaš vos, buen mučaču?
 Kē buškavaš por estas vias?”
 “Buško yō al rē mi padri,
 La korona kē tenia.”
 “Una vēs kē tu lu buškas,
 Kē señas di el darias?”
 “Añus tenia sesenta,
 La barva blanca tenia.”
 “Una vēs kē tu lu buškas,

¹ Another version is given in Danon's collection.

El rē turku lu mataria."
 Tomó lu manu por manu,
 A mostrar selu iria:
 Levó mi en un monti iskuru,
 Kē di negru paresia.
 Razgósí el lus sus pafius
 Di sayo asta kamiza.
 Asta aki es el romansu.
 Su alma en folgansa seria.

XIII.¹

"Morenika mi yama
 El fizu del rē;
 Si otra ves mi yama
 Yō mi vo kon el.

"Morenika mi yama,
 Yō blanko nasi;
 Di pasear galana
 Mi kolor perdi."

"Abáseš, moréna,
 Si aveš di abašar!
 Kē la navi tengu en vēla,
 Mi kēru andar."

Eya si viste di verdi
 I di amariyu,
 Kē ansi dizi la pēra
 Kon el bimbriyu.²

Eya si viste di verdi
 I di zurzuli,³
 Kē ansi dizi la pēra
 Kon el čufteli.⁴

Eya si viste di verdi
 I di otru kolor,
 Kē ansi dizi la roza
 Kon el ambimbroy.⁵

De la mar abášu
 Lu vidi venir:
 "Kē aki yō vus asperu
 A dar kidušin.⁶

¹ Another version is given in Danon's collection.

² "Citron melon."

³ "Yellow peach."

⁴ "Peach." ⁵ Some flower (?) ⁶ H. = "betrothal."

De la mar abašu
 Lu vidi abašar,
 Kē akumpaňadu vyeni
 A dar irusin.¹

“Abašeš, morenā,
 A la xwenti² alta,
 Kē toda la kē la vei
 Keda preñada!

“Abašeš, morenā,
 A la xwenti di ariva
 Kē toda la kē la bēvi
 Vyeni parida!”

XIV.

En la mar batin las olas,
 Las mučačas durmin solas—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La kantiga de las oras.

A tan alta kē va la luna.
 A tan altu kē va al sol,
 Kwandu durmi la kriatura,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tafí una.

Di kantar ya no mi keda boz,
 A la gwerta yevan el aroz,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tafí dos.

A Istambol mi keria ir a ver,
 Mi kuntarun kē es bwen a ver,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tafí tres.

En Belugradu no ay garatu,³
 El vinu bēvin baratu,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tafí kwatru.

Al čurčiku⁴ lu yaman riku,
 Mi kuntarun kē es muy riku,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tafí sinku.

¹H. = “mode of betrothal.”²S. *fuenté*.³Some fish (?)⁴(?)

En el xan¹ ay una kubé,²
 Lus morus lu yaman meš,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi ses³.

Di alavar a lus mis paryentis,
 En la bôka no mi kedó dyenti,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi syeti.

Peši fritu i muy byen koču,
 Por mezé⁴ un bwen bizkoču,
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi oču.

El mundu si aribolvi,
 La preñada a lus mezis muēvi,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi muēvi.

En la mēza kē ay muēzis,⁵
 El vinu bēvin todus lus mēzis,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi dyes.

La uyika⁶ buyi i kozi,
 Abaśalda kē si aripozi,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi onzi.

Aydi, aydi, kē es di noči,
 En Yirušalaim bēvin leči,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi dodzi.

XV.⁸

Raxel, mwestrā mađri, asuyyó a lus syélus,—
 Intanid in bokā avló kun el Viđraderu.⁷
 Mirā kē alegríā ay en Istrael,
 K' el Dyó de lus syélus kē mulu deše ver.
 En la kazā santá ay un almenarā,
 Syeti brasus tyeni k' al mundu interu arelumbrava.
 El beđamigdaš⁸ lu stan fragwandu,
 Kon pyeđrás presyozás lu stan aruđyandu.

¹ T. = "inn."² (†)³ "Lunch."⁴ S. nuez.⁵ S. ollica.⁶ Another version given in Danon's collection.⁷ S. verdadero.⁸ H. = "temple."

Xaxamím¹ kantavān; lus Leviím² baylavān,
 I lus Koaním³ karbán⁴ ayigavān.⁵
 Ay en el miðbar⁶ tres palombás bolán,—
 Malaxím⁷ del syēlu avlavān bokā kun bokā.

XVI.

Sinku afius ya v' azer
 Ki yo tengu displazer
 Kun un mansevu d' Izmir,⁸
 Ki yo pur el mi vo murir,—
 Noči i dia kun pasyō
 Azyendu la orasyō,
 Arugandu al Kriaðor
 Ki mi skapi d'est' amor.
 Intri gwertās i veryelis
 Yo bivir kun doloris
 Un fistan mi vo kurtar,—
 Gway, ki no lu vo gozar!
 Unā kartā vo skrivir
 A la mi mamā suvenir,
 Ki la meldi i ki yori
 Ki s' akoðrā⁹ di mi.
 Kazaminterus veyo venir
 Parā dispuzarmi a mi.
 Estu no lu pweðu sintir,
 Ki aboltin lakardí!¹⁰
 Unā kartā vo skrivir
 A lus mansevus suvenir,
 Ki no atin mas amor
 Ki l'amor azi puðrir.
 Yo kwandu mi vo murir,
 En la pyeðrā vo skrivir,
 Ki la meldin i ki yorin,
 Ki l'amor azi puðrir.

XVII.

Uyí dizir kē boðas ay pur akí, kē vengu a ver, Kē gozi i kē logri i kē
 tengā munéu byen! Uyi dizir, in esti palasyu kē gozi la novyā in un
 mazal¹¹ muy klaru,—kazamyentu kē del Dyó es,—el novyu no keri

¹ H. = "wise men."⁵ S. *llegar.*⁹ S. *acordarse.*² H. = "Levites."⁶ H. = "desert."¹⁰ Conversation.³ H. = "Cohanites."⁷ H. = "angels."¹¹ H. = "luck."⁴ H. = "treasure."⁸ "Smyrna."

munčus dukaðus, keri a la novyā in mazal klaru. El novyu no keri
dinerus, keri a la novyā in un mazal muy bwenu. Oy kazavā la blankā
niñā kun un mansevu d'estās viyās,—kazamyentu del Dyō es,—kun un
mansevu koma la rozā,—Syen afius kē turi dičozā.

XVIII.

Un bwer¹ rey está xazinu,
I amandān pur lus doktoris,
Kwantus pur el mundu sô.
Unus entrān i unus salen,—
Ningunu no l' aprovečó.
I amandān pur el mas grandi,
El mas grandi i el mayor.
A la suviðā del' eskalerā
Di robiyās si suvyó;
Al' entraðā de la pwertā
La kavesā li kayó.
S' asintí a la kaviserā,
El pulsu li atintó.
Le preguntó el xazinu al doktor,
Ke tal li paresi.
Li dišo el doktor:
“D' esti mal kē tengu yo !”
S'abultó del otru kavu el xazinu,
Dišu el xazinu:
“Unus goðān las mužeris,
Yo pur gozar la vo dešar;
Unus goðān sus kriaturās,
Yo čikus lui vo dešar.”
Estās palavrás dizyendu,
Er rey se akavó,—
Er rey di primā noči,
El doktor a mafianā al alvor.

XIX.²

Al kinzi del mes la lunā en kresyenti,
Kwandu er rey Nemrod salyó estreyeru,
El indivinó kē nasia Mošé.
La mužer di Terax preñadā stava,
Den dia en dia le dimandavā:
De kē yevaš la karā tan dimuðaðā?”
Eya si saviá el mal kē teniā,—

¹ S. *buen* (before r.).² Another version given in Danon's collection.

Si salyó pur lus kampus koma peđriđa,
 Doloris teniā i parir kerī,—
 Andi lu paryerā in la mearā.¹
 Al kavu di oču dias lu xwé a buškar,
 Andi lu tupavā in la yešivá.²
 Kwandu nasyó 'l ižu, arilumbravā
 Komu 'l sol i la luní a međyu dia.
 Kwandu nasyó 'l ižu, in lugo³ avlavā:
 "Indá⁴ us, la mi mađri al vwestru lugar,
 Kē yo ya tengu aličađerās,
 I yo ya tengu mirađerās, kē mi mirarán."
 Gran zaxut⁵ tuvitiš, siñor di Avraam,
 Kē kun su manu mizma s'izu birmilá!⁶
 Gran zaxut tuvitiš, siñor pariđu,
 K' afirmatiš la mítsha⁷ d'Avraam avinu.⁸

XX.

Estás mezás son del vinu,—
 Bivá la patroná kun su mariđu!—
 Estás mezás mezás sô.

Estás mezás son del klaru,
 Bivá la patroná kun su amađu,
 I las kē stan al deredor!
 Estás mezás mezás sô.

"S'aveš kumiđu koma 's la razon,
 La patroná de la kazá muz⁹ dimandā piđron."¹⁰

"No kumimus nađa, lindá kumpaňa,
 No kumimus nađa, lindá kumpaňa,—
 Beraxá¹¹ mus aga!"

"S' aveš kumiđu koma 's el dever,
 La patroná de la kazá muz dimandā mersé."
 "No" kumimus nađa, etc.

"S' aveš kumiđu peši de la mar,
 Nainda sta pur alkansar,—
 El peši sta pur alkansar,
 La reyná sta pur enreynar."

¹ H. = "cave."

^b H. = "honor."

⁹ S. nos.

² H. = "house of study."

⁶ H. = "circumcision."

¹⁰ S. perdon.

³ S. luego.

⁷ H. = "deserts."

¹¹ H. = "blessing."

⁴ S. andad.

⁸ H. = "our father."

"No kumimus naðā," etc.

"Kun vrigwensā¹ vu lu diku,
Kē ya mi vo kun mi amigu.
Kun vrigwensā vu lu avlu,
Kē ya mi vo kun mi amaðu."

"Iža, mi vayaš en la orā bwenā!"

XXI.

Amor tengu, no paresku,
Ni me do pur konsintir,—
El la pwertā di la kayi
L'alma ya mi va salir.
Tres añus d'amor ki ize,
Al kwartér mi izvačí.²
Añu i meðyu di kazaðā
Ufisyu no li tupi,—
El ufisyu del mi mariðu
Es ladron i kumardži.³
El Taván⁴ ki mi lu gwaðri⁵
Di la manu del polis.⁶
Prettā se yo, la mi maðri,
Ni si tomi sixurá;⁷
Lus ožus di lus mansevus
Ya si incin kun parás.

XXII.⁸

Morenā mi yamān
Yo blankā nasí.
Di pasiyar galana
Mi kolor piðri.⁹

Morenā mi yamā
El ižu di alvor;
Si otrā ves mi yamā
Yo kun el mi vo.

D'akeyās vintanās
M'arondžan¹⁰ flečās;
Si sō di amoris
Vengān derečās!

¹ S. *virguenza*.

² T. = "to resign."

³ T. = "gambler."

⁴ T. = "god."

⁵ S. *guardar*.

⁶ "Police."

⁷ "Care."

⁸ Another version given in Danon's collection.

⁹ S. *perder*.

¹⁰ "Throw."

D'akeyās vintanās
 M' arondžan arkus;
 Si sō di amoris
 Vengān al lađu!
 Vestiđā di veđri¹
 I di alteli,—²
 K'ansi³ dizi la novyā
 Kun su čilibi.⁴
 Eskalerikā l'izi⁵
 Di oru i di marfil,
 Kē vengā la novyā
 A dar kidušin!
 Eskalerikā l'izi
 Di oru i di perlā,
 Kē vengā el novyu
 A dar beraxát!

XXIII.

Kwandu Mošé Rabenu⁶ kižu⁷ ērreynar⁸
 Lus syēlus i la tyerā izu temblar.
 Mirá, kē siñor erā Mošé Rabenu,
 K'asuvyo i abašó a lus syēlus!
 Un prezenti tengu, lu vengu a tomar,
 K' ērā la ley santā i el sefér-torá.⁹
 Un prezenti tengu, lu vengu a resivir
 K' ērā la ley santā i el sefér-šeli.¹⁰
 Mirá, kē siñor erā Mošé Rabenu,
 K' abašavā i asuviā a lus syeti syēlus.

XXIV.

Pariđā, el Dyó vus gwađri,¹¹
 Kwantu keri la vwestrā madri,
 Di tođu el mal!
 Pariđā, el Dyó vus deši,
 Kwantu keri la vwestrā dženti,
 Di tođu el mal!

¹S. verde.
²Some color.
³S. que así.
⁴T. = "lover."

⁵S. hice.
⁶H. = "our lord Moses."
⁷S. guiso.
⁸S. enneinar.
⁹H. = "scroll."
¹⁰H. = "second book of Moses."
¹¹S. guarda.

Pariðā stavā la dweñā i pariðā soš!
 Kē byen empleyaðas xwerun las doloris
 Kē nasyó un ižu di beyfā¹ koloris!
 Syempri de kontinu a el Dyó daremus las loris.²

Ya vyeni el pariðu kun sus manus yenās
 En la unā manu un masu di kandefās,
 En la otrā manu mansanās i perās!

Kwantu la komaðri dizy'a la pariðā: "Haydi, haydi!"³
 Rispondi la pariðā: "Adunay,⁴ kē mi skapi!"

Ya vyeni el pariðu al dib⁵ de la kamā,
 Dizya la pariðā: "Lu kē keris, mi alma?"
 Rispondi la pariðā kē esta bwenā.

XXV.

Un riyo d'unā fwenti,
 Unā sakā⁶ laví;
 Al ruiðo del agwā
 Yo mi aserki ast' ayi.

Sinti unā boz kē diziā:
 "Ay de mi, ay de mi, ay de mi!"
 Si komu mi aserki a su laðu
 Beðyfā⁷ floris kurtí
 Dispwers dixú⁸ la niñā
 I akayó, i akayó, i s' ezmayó.

Si komu la viðé sulikā
 Li diklarí mi amor;
 Yurandu⁹ mi dizia:
 "No t' ulvides tu del Dyo."
 Dispwers dixá la niña, etc.

Si komu la viðé sulikā
 Al kafé la yeví;
 Li divizi lu pretu,
 Tres bezus l' estampí
 Dispwers dixú la niña
 Otrus tres, otrus tres, s' azin ses.

¹ S. *bellas*.

⁴ H. = "my Lord."

⁷ S. *varias*.

² S. *loores*.

⁵ T. = "side."

⁸ "Fainted."

³ Turkish greeting.

⁶ T. = "collar."

⁹ S. *llorando*.

Al despartirme d'eya
 Un abrasu mi diyó
 Non si viðo muriente
 Non si viðo muriente
 Dispwers dixú la nifia
 I akayó, i akayó, i s'ezmayó.

XXVI.¹

Nočis bwenás, nočis bwenás,
 Nočis sô d' inamorar;
 Nočis sô d' inamorar,
 Dandu bweltás pur la kamá
 Koma 'l peškađu en la mar.
 Estâ noči, la mi mađri,
 No la puđe sinportar:
 Luvyás kain di lus syélus,
 Lagrimás di mis ožus.
 Tres ermanikás erân,
 Tođás tres a un metá;
 Saltó la primerâ d' eyâs,
 Mađri miya, la mi keriča,
 Nunkâ no va ver kazar.

XXVII.

Unâ noči al lunar
 Mi salti a pasiyar.
 Un mansevu mi topó
 Al gazinu mi yevô.
 El la siya m' asentó
 Unâ birâ mi dyó.
 Mi dimand' a caz' aparte
 Vintanás para yali;²
 Mi dimandâ unâs dimandâs
 Kê mi azin tresalir:
 "Yamaremus Xazaním"
 Kê mus den lus kidušin!"

XXVIII.⁴

Andandu pur estâs maris
 Navigí kun grandi fortunâ,

¹ R. d. È. J., Vol. XXXIII, p. 119, has a variant of this.² T. = "seashore."³ H. = "cantors."⁴ R. d. È. J., Vol. XXXIII, p. 115, has another variant of this.

Kayí in tyerās aženās
Andi no mi kunusian
Andi no kantavā gayo
Ni la leonāt arespondia.
Lagrimās di mis ožus
Barru l' amasaré;
Kun las plantās de las manus
El barru lu embarrassaré;
Kun suspirus di su almā
El barru lu enšugaré,
Toðu ombri k'es kaminanti
Kun mi lus tumaré.
El ki konti di sus malis
Di lus miyus yo li kuntaré.
Si lus suyus sō mas munčus
A pasyensyā mi lus tumaré.
Si lus miyus sō mas munčus
A pasyensyā mi lus tumaré.

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A DEFENSE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NINTH BOOK OF WOLFRAM'S PARZIVAL.

THE word of an authority on his subject commands respect, yet assent too readily given may thwart the pursuit of truth. An illustration of the latter tendency will be attempted on the following pages. Gotthold Bötticher, by his important contributions, *Wolfram-Litteratur*, *Das Hohelied vom Rittertum*, etc., has sufficiently established himself as an authority on the subject of Wolfram von Eschenbach. But he has also, in one instance, blundered very seriously. In an appendix to *Das Hohelied vom Rittertum* there is contained an attack upon the ninth book of Wolfram's *Parzival*, consisting of a brief analysis of the book and a few dogmatic sentences utterly condemning it. The matter is disposed of without debate, the impression conveyed being that argument would be wasted in a case so clear.¹

Excepting the brief rejoinder of San Marte,² this view of Bötticher stood unchallenged for fourteen years. In 1900 A. Nolte, who in his doctor dissertation had already displayed an irreverent disregard of authority by daring to revise the old and propose a new interpretation of the battle-ridden "Eingang des Parzival," undertook to say a word in defense of the ninth book of *Parzival*. "Die Composition der Trevrizentscenen" is the title of this able article.³ Nolte laid bare the motive for Bötticher's unsparing attack on Wolfram's work. That motive was to overcome San Marte's view of the importance of the theological materials in Wolfram's works. San Marte would make of *Parzival* primarily a religious poem, replete with allegorical and mystical wisdom. In his campaign against San Marte Bötticher thought it essential to attack him in what appeared to be his stronghold, viz., the ninth book, where the hermit Trevrizent explains the

¹ GOTTHOLD BÖTTICHER, *Das Hohelied vom Rittertum, eine Beleuchtung des Parzival nach Wolframs eigenen Andeutungen* (Berlin, 1886), Excurs: "Die Composition des IX. Buches," pp. 81-6.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. XXI, p. 240.

³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 241-8.

mysteries of the Holy Grail and brings back the knight Parzival to faith in the guidance of Providence.

Bötticher attempted, therefore, to discredit the literary value of the ninth book, to prove, if possible, that Wolfram was there by no means at his best, that the problem before the poet had been a magnificent one, but that his execution was very faulty. Nolte answers a number of Botticher's objections, and in his analysis gives a much fairer estimate of the book. Yet Nolte is likewise beset by a theory. It grows out of his earlier work on the "Eingang des Parzival." The keynote of Wolfram's poem to him is *diu triuwe* ("fidelity"), in opposition to that which Botticher calls the central idea, viz.: *unverzaget mannes muot* ("undaunted manhood," or "manly spirit"). Botticher replied in "Noch einmal das neunte Buch des Parzival,"¹ and there successfully defends his conception of what is the underlying idea of the whole poem. That idea can be expressed in a single phrase, viz.: "Das Hohelied vom Rittertum," the triumphal song of knighthood; not the triumphal song of fidelity, "das Hohelied der Treue," as Nolte would have us believe. The ideal in *Parzival* is *unverzaget mannes muot*—undaunted manhood, not unrestrained, but tempered with the Christian virtues of humility and charity. It is not my object to take issue with this position, but rather to acknowledge gratefully to Botticher a debt for his rational, realistic, and adequate interpretation of the poem. Where Botticher has been unfair, misled no doubt by polemical zeal, has been in the treatment of the ninth book. Having had the last word, he remains in possession of the field. But, in spite of his ardent warfare, he has proved nothing against the ninth book, and has shown himself less able to comprehend its depth and beauty than his discomfited antagonist San Marte. What remains to be done is to approach the ninth book of *Parzival* without any theories to advocate, and in a spirit of fairness attempt to estimate its literary value.

Botticher's numerous objections to Wolfram's ninth book can be grouped under three heads: (1) faults of composition (*Fehler der Composition*); (2) incoherence, or frequent ruptures in the

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLV (1901), pp. 149-52.

train of thought (Zerrissenheit des Gedankengangs, störende Unterbrechungen); (3) lack of motivation (keine Motivierung).

Under the first head, "faulty composition," Botticher claims that Parzival's conversion and regeneration being the purpose of the action, there is no even progress toward the consummation of that end. In order to understand the poet's intention, it will be necessary to put before our minds a clear picture of the two principal characters: the knight Parzival and his confessor Trevrizent. In the sixth book Parzival had reached the height of his fame. Victor in every warlike encounter, protector of offended womanhood, paragon of all knightly virtues, he was received into membership of the Round Table. But while King Arthur's most distinguished guest there came the killing frost. Cundrie declared him unworthy of association with Arthur's knights, because he had failed to ask the question which would have changed suffering to happiness at the Grail court. The curse of Cundrie affects Parzival deeply, and yet he cannot altogether blame himself. Has he not obeyed implicitly the teaching of the courtly Gurnemanz? An innocent man, he receives terrible punishment. The Divine Helper ought to protect his faithful vassals against such disgrace. Parzival has a sympathetic heart; he is moved to pity for the sufferings of Anfortas, which he might have relieved. He is also ambitious, and regrets the loss of the kingship of the Holy Grail. These two motives impel in him the desire to win back what he has lost, whatever sacrifices it may require. Anfortas will have cause to be thankful to him. As for the Helper who refuses help and allows the flower of knighthood, through no fault of his own, to become the scorn of his fellows, all bonds with Him shall henceforth be broken:

with?

"wē waz ist got?
wær der gewaldec, sôhlen spot
het er uns pêden niht gegebn,
kunde got mit kreften lebn.
ich was im diens undertân,
sit ich genâden mich versan.
nu wil i'm dienst widersagn:
hât er haz, den wil ich tragn."

—332, 1-8.

In this attitude of mind Parzival appears before Trevrizent—Trevrizent, once a fearless knight himself, now a hermit living in self-chastisement for the sins of his family and of the world, a trifle garrulous, the result of his years and wide experience, but of a broad and deep humanity that will understand and withal pardon the sins of the individual that are induced upon him by the lusts of the age.

As soon as Trevrizent discovers the pride and rebellion in Parzival's soul it becomes his object to prove to him that an individual may, in spite of the best of intentions to the contrary, offend against moral law; that he may even conform to the moral standards of his age, and still become guilty of transgressions against a higher law. Such, for instance, has been Parzival's life of adventure and battle, fully in accordance with the ambitions and standards of the age. Yet what misfortune did it bring to others—death to Ither, death to his mother, and murder unpunished, such as follows in the train of the modern duel! Yet worldly honor and human pride made Parzival blind to his fault. What method does Trevrizent employ to open his eyes? Does he explain to him from beginning to end the chapter of his sinfulness? Does he pronounce to him the infallible dogmas of the church? Some such method would have been preferred by Bötticher, for he misses "eine gründliche Erörterung der Schuld." Trevrizent's method is this: He does not assume an air of superiority, but seeks Parzival's level, having explained that he too was once a knight wooing adventure and woman's love. He forces Parzival to realize to the fullest extent the evil consequences of his actions, not blaming him so much as the evil ambitions of the world. Parzival begins to see, himself, the shame and guilt of his mode of life, and, instead of being told, he himself tells wherein he has done wrong. There are two separate confessions of Parzival: the first, in which he explains his despair of divine help; and the second, in which he discloses that he visited the Holy Grail court; these are the climaxes (*Höhepunkte*) in the action of the ninth book. The process of extracting these confessions from the proud heart of Parzival in a manner most natural and lifelike serves to exalt the character of Trevrizent, and gives proof of the hand of a literary master.

The first confession is prepared for by about 150 lines, in which Trevrizenz quickly gains Parzival's regard and gratitude through his courteous reception and kind provision for his personal wants. The hermitage and its shrine revive in Parzival the memory of his oath that re-established the conjugal happiness of Jeshuta and Orilus; the remembrance of a spear that he took away becomes the means of informing him how many years he had wandered about seeking conflict and despairing of God's help.

Sprach Parzival. "mirst freude ein troum:
ich trage der riwe swären soum.
herré, ich tuon iu mér noch kuont.
swā kirchen ode münster stuont,
dā man gotes ère sprach,
kein ouge mich dā nie gesach
sit den selben ztten:
ichn suuchte niht wan striten.
ouch trage ich hazzes vil gein gote:"

—461, 1-9.

He then explains that hatred fully. Such passionate discords had never broken the stillness of the sanctuary. The host sighs and gazes at his guest. With calmness and dignity he explains to the knight the nature of God:

"sin helfe ist immer unverzagt." —462, 10.
"got heizt und ist diu wärheit." —462, 25.
"irn megt im ab erzürnen niht." —463, 1.

He speaks also in symbolical language, explains a parable, exalts Christian doctrines; to all of which Parzival listens attentively, and at last thanks the expounder:

"herré, ich bin des immer frô,
daz ir mich von dem bescheiden hât,
der nihtes ungelönet lät,
der missewende noch der tugent."

—467, 12-15.

But he concludes his confession thus: "I have gained sorrow for fidelity in my young life up to this very day." Now the confessor is ready with questions to get to the root of Parzival's sorrow. The knight replies that there are two causes: (1) absence from his wife, and (2) longing for the Grail. Trevrizenz praises

the knight for his devotion to his wife, but laughs at him for the second cause of his grief. Only the predestined can reach the Grail. "I know it and have seen it," says Trevrizen. With sudden interest Parzival asks: "Were you there?" He had almost forgotten himself and said: "Were you there *also?*?" Trevrizen, not knowing what goes on in Parzival's mind, now gives a complete explanation of the mysteries of the Grail. The glories of the Grail inspire Parzival with even greater zeal for the quest. He makes a naive protest against predestination: "If knighthood can achieve the body's renown and the soul's paradise, then I have not been lacking. If God is a judge of the art of combat, let him elect me, a knight who will not flinch" (472, 1-10). It is not strange that the confessor rebukes the self-conscious warrior for his pride, one of the seven deadly sins. Yet it is done in a kindly manner: "Your youth may easily mislead you into breaking modesty's virtue. Lucifer fell through pride, and so did Anfortas. Humility ever gained the victory over pride."

Now follows a passage, 473:4—475:12, in which Trevrizen rambles somewhat, a passage to which Bötticher particularly objects. If we examine closely, however, we can detect the poet's purpose. Up to this point Trevrizen does not know who the knight before him is. He would like to know; his personal interest in him has grown. Not wishing at once to ask the question, he beats about the bush, speaks first of an unnamed young knight, lacking in wit, who came to the Grail, presumably not the man before him; might he be Lahelin, who robbed a Grail knight of a horse such as the guest rides? "Are you Lahelin?" asks the hermit. Parzival's disclosure of his identity changes their whole relation. Before this the hermit has spoken to Parzival with sympathy and kindness, to be sure, but so would he have done to any stranger who appealed to him for confession. He has spoken to his unknown guest about the nature of God, about the mysteries of the Holy Grail, about the sin of pride. He has spoken earnestly, yet not without a certain courteous reserve. Now the fact is suddenly revealed that his sister's son stands before him. The barriers of reserve are broken down between them. There is a distinct advance in the action of the scene. Trevrizen's sympathy

yields to tender concern, his reserve leaves him, and he rouses Parzival's dormant conscience. He lays before him the enormity of his crime in killing Ither, the perfect knight and his own blood; furthermore, he charges him with causing the death of his mother, Herzeloide. "She could not endure the separation from him." One of the strong traits of Parzival is his love of his mother. The revelation staggers him. He did not know she was dead, he will not believe it.

"neinā hērre guoter,
waz sagt ir nu ?" sprach Parzival.
"wær' ich dan hērre übern gräl,
der möhete mich ergetzen niht
des märs mir iwer munt vergiht.
bin ich iwer swester kint,
sô tuot als die mit triwen sint,
und sagt mir sunder wankes vâr,
sint disiu maere beidiu wâr ?"

—476, 14-22.

The lordship of the Grail would not repay him for such a loss. Trevrizent will not conceal the truth from him: "Thou wert the dragon of her dream, that sucked at her breasts and speedily flew away."

Trevrizent now abruptly changes the subject of conversation; he speaks of his and Herzeloide's other relatives, Sigune, Repanse de Schoye, and finally Anfortas. Bötticbar cannot understand the reason of this turn. It is done to relieve the awful tension of emotion produced in Parzival. What better could he do than speak of the living, when the dead cannot be restored to life?

Before his nephew Parzival, Trevrizent has no longer anything to conceal concerning Anfortas, whose history he now tells—his knightly achievements, then his fall, and now his sufferings. The latter are described with minute detail, as well as the remedies applied, exhausting the medical knowledge and fancies of the mediæval age. Trevrizent hopes to win Parzival's sympathy. Unwittingly he does much more. Parzival begins to realize the magnitude of his sin of omission. By a single question he might have done more for his suffering mother's brother than the prized adder's poison, the waters from the four rivers of Paradise, the

blood of the pelican, the heart of the unicorn. Trevirzent does not know that Parzival has been at the Grail court and is suffering under the curse of Cundrie. Not knowing what additional pain he is giving his hearer, he now relates the incident of the young knight, who, unnamed by the Grail, was predestined to appear at the court. If he would ask the fateful question, he should become king of the Grail, and the suffering of Anfortas should cease; if he would not ask the question the first night, its power should cease. No one durst prompt him what to do, under penalties of greater suffering to the king. The young fool had done better to have stayed away, says Trevirzent. He lost a great opportunity, and he was punished severely enough.

What a masterstroke of the literary art, to make the kind old hermit, *der guote man*, as he is so frequently called, as it were, an avenging spirit, scourging the open wound of his victim. If he had known what he was doing he would surely not have applied the lash so fiercely. The young knight, bereft of his wits, who had appeared at the Grail, stood before him, yet so overcome by shame and consciousness of his guilt that he could not find the courage to declare his identity. Both men were silent now; "sie bêde wârn mit herzen klage" (485, 1).

The host suggests going for food. It is near midday, and the horse must be cared for. The host provides good cheer with the frugal meal of fruits and herbs. This episode is thoroughly appreciated by Bötticher: "das erste für die Composition wertvolle Zwischenstück." One feels that the narrative has made a deep impression on Parzival. "Ein vorzügliches Stimmungsbild erschütterten Selbstbewusstseins, und eines sich entwickelnden herzlichen Vertrauens des Jüngeren zum Älteren."

After the meal and the near companionship that it has brought, Parzival musters courage for the confession that he could not utter before. He does it in manly fashion, without attempting to mitigate, without a vestige of that pride that once pleaded his innocence while making confession:

" hêrre und lieber oheim mfn,
ich hân sô sêre missetân,
welt ir michs engelten lân,

sô scheide ich von dem trôste
 unt bin der unerlôste
 immer mîr von riuwe.
 ir sult mit râtes triuwe
 klagen mine tumpehit.
 der tûf Munsalvaesche reit,
 unt der den rechten kumber sach,
 unt der deheine vrâge sprach,
 daz bin ich unsælec barn :
 sus hân ich, hérre, missevarn."

—488, 4, 9-20.

This confession, the second which Parzival makes, is the one wrung deepest from his heart; it is the one he would most willingly have concealed. It undoubtedly marks the highest point in the action of the book.

Trevrizont does not hide his surprise and sorrow; but he will not refuse counsel. Parzival should in right measure sorrow and cease sorrowing. Mankind is queerly constituted. Oft youth pretends to be wise, and age practices folly. But if Parzival will be of manly heart and despair in God no more, he can yet reap a reward that will cause him to forget all his past trials. Of that Trevrizont will stand his surety. At this point Bötticher expects a thorough explanation of Parzival's guilt and a clear depiction of his regeneration, "eine gründliche Erörterung und Klarstellung der eigentlichen Schuld, sowie eine deutliche Entwicklung seiner inneren Wandlung." In answer to Bötticher's second consideration it can be maintained that the change has taken place step by step before our eyes. Should we in justice expect from the mediaeval poet a naturalistic analysis such as would tickle the modern literary palate? Parzival has learned the lesson expressed in the words of the evangelist and repeated in the Lutheran service: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (1 John 1:8-10). Though never expressed in these words, Trevrizont has most forcibly impressed this doctrine on Parzival's mind and thereby brought about the knight's regeneration.

Bötticher's other point, his demand of a thorough ventilation

of Parzival's actual guilt, requires a somewhat longer treatment. In the first place, we must bear in mind that the poet's office is to construct living men, not abstractions nor embodied syllogisms. Let us return to the scene which the poet portrays, to the hermit and the knight. Trevrizen is in a peculiar position. The revelation that Parzival was the young knight who failed to ask the question came as suddenly upon him as the news of the death of his mother to Parzival. Trevrizen recalls instantly all that he has said about that unhappy mortal, how severely he has blamed him for his brutal stupidity, how he has magnified the sin. All at once the culprit stands before him. Shall he raise the scourge again? In the experience of man with man, of teacher and pupil, there is a point where punishment should cease if it be not meant to crush. Realizing the delicacy of his task of uplifting the remorseful yet high-spirited offender, the hermit has now mainly words of consolation and of hope. Presently his words wander off to other subjects. He talks of things that to us might seem trivial—not so, however, to the mediaeval mind—about the mysterious influence of the stars—a hobby of Trevrizen; about the rites of the Grail court not before explained. By a question he induces Parzival to relate his experiences at the Grail castle. Trevrizen follows with the tale of his own life, which brings to him the red knight Ither, whom Parzival slew, and that reminds him again of Parzival's sins. The confessor names two great sins for which the knight shall make atonement: the killing of Ither, and the responsibility for the death of his mother. Why, asks Bötticher, does not Trevrizen name at once the third sin, which should be regarded as the greatest, viz.: the failure to ask the question at the Grail court? This third sin is named thirty-five lines farther on in the text and is ranked as the equal of the others. The following explanation can be offered: The first two are sins of commission, and therefore should be spoken of together; the last is one of omission. Trevrizen intends to name it, but thinks he can find another lurking sin of commission, theft of a Grail horse, possibly *reroup*, robbery of a slain foe. But Parzival successfully defends himself against that charge. He himself provokes the naming of the third sin, by asking a question about the maidenly bearer of

the Grail. Says Trevirzent in reply: "The maid gave you the mantle for the same reason that Anfortas gave you a sword. She hoped you might become their king. But your mouth, capable enough of speech, refused to utter the question. Let this sin stand beside the others." Then Trevirzent closes abruptly with: "wir sulin och talanc ruowen gân," "Let us go to rest" (501, 6). That offends the scholar's sense of justice. All along he had been waiting in vain for the "gründliche Erörterung und Aufklärung der eigentlichen Schuld," and now Trevirzent is going to bed! The wise hermit judges that enough has been said, and he leaves time to do the rest: "sus was er dâ fünfzehn tage" (501, 11).

The question is interesting, Which of the sins of Parzival is the greatest? Trevirzent dwells longest on the killing of Ither, Parzival's blood-relation, the mourned of knights and ladies, and undoubtedly considers this first-named the greatest sin; for, while the omission of the question was a sinful act, a mitigating circumstance was Parzival's "tumpehit," "his senses refused their service;" and, moreover, had he not already suffered severely for it? Was it not a terrible thing to behold the greatest glory known to mortal man attainable and yet elude your grasp? To Parzival himself the death of his mother caused the greatest pain, since he was responsible; it seemed to him his greatest sin, and all the splendor of kingship of the Holy Grail could not reimburse him for his loss. To the reader undoubtedly Parzival's failure as regards the fateful question appears his greatest sin. Though young and trained in the inadequate school of worldly propriety, the hero should have possessed the initiative, the intelligent sympathy, to find the right course of action. We see that the relative importance of Parzival's sins depends entirely upon the point of view. Why should we object to the order in which Trevirzent names them? He is the speaker and gives his view of the case; his opinion need not influence the reader, nor is it necessarily the same as the opinion of Wolfram von Eschenbach.

We learn that Parzival remained in the hermitage thereafter for fifteen days. Herbs and roots were his food; but he gladly bore all the trials, because of the sweet peace that entered his heart through the host's pardon and his knightly counsel.

The close of the book meets the approval neither of Bötticher nor of Nolte. The latter says: "Auch der Schluss [beginning 499, 11] hätte straffer und kräftiger herausgearbeitet werden können." As long as we are not told how that might have been done, we shall have to confine ourselves to the poem as it exists. The close proper of the poem includes the lines 501, 19—502, 30 (forty-two lines). The attempt is made to produce a lifelike scene. We have just been told of the fifteen days of atonement. One day, the poet says, Parzival inquired about the aged Titurel, whom he had seen on his visit to the Gralsburg. It is an inquiry such that we may imagine many had gone before on various days, showing us that Parzival is no longer the self-centered individual that he once was, but that he has learned the habit of asking questions. The inquiry is answered, and we learn a moment later that this same day is the last which Parzival spends with the hermit. The parting is brief; a caution is given to protect women and the priesthood. The latter are to be his guides. Then the hermit spoke:

". . . . gip mir din stunde her:
vor gote ich bin din wandels wer.
und leist als ich dir han gesagt:
belp des willen unverzagt."
von ein ander schieden sie:
ob ir welt, so prüvet wie.

—502, 25-30.

For what goes on in their hearts at parting the poet appeals to the imagination of the reader. The close is certainly not lacking in dignity, in taste, in suggestiveness, even in brevity.

Under the head of faulty composition may be included the criticism of Bötticher, that of the two themes—(1) Parzival's regeneration or return to faith, and (2) the mysteries of the Holy Grail—the latter, though the less important one, gradually assumes the more important place. Let us examine whether this be in accordance with the facts. By an actual count of the lines belonging to each theme, beginning where Bötticher begins his analysis, 452, 13, I get the following results:

Theme.		Lines.	Lines.
1. Parzival's return to faith (<i>Umkehr</i>)	- - - - -		732
Including:			
456, 5—468, 22	- - - - -	378	
471, 30—473, 4	- - - - -	34	
474, 25—477, 30	- - - - -	96	
485, 1—489, 21	- - - - -	141	
499, 11—500, 22	- - - - -	42	
501, 5—501, 18	- - - - -	14	
502, 4—502, 30	- - - - -	27	
2. The Grail mysteries	- - - - -		627
Including:			
453, 11—455, 22	- - - - -	72	
468, 23—471, 29	- - - - -	97	
473, 5—474, 24	- - - - -	50	
478, 1—483, 18	- - - - -	168	
483, 19—484, 30	- - - - -	42	
489, 22—495, 12	- - - - -	171	
500, 28—501, 4	- - - - -	12	
501, 19—502, 3	- - - - -	15	
Belonging to neither theme—			
3. Episodes	- - - - -		158
Introductory lines	{ 452, 13—453, 10	28	
	{ 455, 23—456, 4	12	
Trevrizent's story	495, 13—499, 10	118	

From this table it appears that the number of lines devoted to the first theme exceeds by more than a hundred the number of the Grail theme. The lines of the latter, moreover, have been estimated very liberally. Some of them, e. g., 478, 1—483, 18 (168 lines), the description of the sufferings of Anfortas, and 483, 19—484, 30 (42 lines), Trevrizent's story of the useless visit at the Grail of the young knight without wit, belong just as much to the first or main theme, because their effect is to stir Parzival to sympathy and remorse, to lower his pride, and advance him toward regeneration. Another section, counted as a part of the Grail theme, 453, 11—455, 22 (72 lines), describes Wolfram's sources, Kyot, Flegetanis, etc., and has but very slight connection with the Grail. If these three sections were deducted, there would be left to the Grail theme but 345 lines, as compared with the 732 lines of the main theme.

Moreover, it is not in accordance with the facts to claim that

the Grail theme is gradually given more prominence until it overshadows the principal theme. This can be seen by consulting the numbers above. The last 228 lines of the ninth book consist first of Trevirzent's story concerning himself (118 lines). These, if classed with either, must go with the main theme, since the effect is to bring the knight and hermit closer together. The remaining lines are made up of 27 in all belonging to the Grail theme, and 83 to the main one.

As a distinct motif competing for supremacy with the other, the mystery of the Grail closes with line 471, 29, where the words occur:

hér, sus stêt ez umben grål.

It is the fulfilment of the promise in 452, 29, 30:

an dem ervert nu Parzival
diu verholnen mære umben grål.

What follows about the Grail blends or unites with the main theme in bringing about Parzival's regeneration, as has been explained in the preceding pages. The second serious defect with which Bötticher charges the ninth book is what he would call: Incoherence, and disturbing interruptions in the train of thought. Illustrations of this are the following:

1. Reference to Kyot and other sources, 453, 1—455, 22. It must be remembered that the Middle High German court poets took pains to avoid the impression of originality. Herein Wolfram is true to existing traditions.
2. The genealogies mentioned in 455, 13 f., are characterized as "ein ungeschicktes Vorgreifen." Wolfram's purpose here seems to be to tell us that Kyot was the one who discovered the connection between the Grail kings and the house of Anjou.
3. The riddle of the virgin earth, and the added praise of virginity, 463, 24—464, 30. This should be regarded, not as a defect, but as a characteristic of Wolfram's style. Wolfram were not himself if he did not propose riddles or use symbols or phrases of hidden meaning. In the *Wartburgkrieg* he figures as past-master at riddles. Characteristic also is his mystic account of the neutral angels, 471, 15—30.

4. The passage, 473, 5—477, 30, has been treated above. Nolte shows that there is throughout a close association of ideas: "diese Gedanken sollen eben in ihrer psychologischen nicht logischen Verkettung die Ideenassocation darstellen, welche Trevrizent zu der in der Entwicklung des Gesprächs nunmehr notwendig gewordenen Frage führt: 'wer er sei.'"

5. Trevrizent's narrative of his own adventures, 495, 13—499, 10. Aside from the comments already made, it can be urged that these lines tend to complete our picture of the hermit, to individualize him; and that this is a worthy object, even if it be attended by a slight retardation in the progress of the main theme.

A third serious fault that Bötticher discovers in the ninth book is a lack of motivation. Alleged instances of this have already been noted above. Others are:

1. Parzival's inquiry, whether Trevrizent did not fear him as he appeared armed before the hermitage. (457, 22–24.) It occurs in the following way: Parzival, clad in full armor, had met a group of pilgrims, the gray knight and his followers, who were on their way to the hermit's hut. The gray knight rebuked Parzival for his martial array on the day of Christian mourning. Parzival had to be told, for he had lost all reckoning, that the present day was the most solemn church festival of the year, viz.: Good Friday. Parzival felt shame, and refused to accompany the train of pilgrims, accoutred as he was. Not long after he arrived before the hermit, and feeling how much his armor and warlike appearance were out of place, his question means: "Were you not frightened by my threatening aspect on a day when everyone else wears the garb of a pilgrim?" His appearance is quite as astonishing and lacking in civility as that of Orlando as he rushed with drawn sword upon the peaceful diners in the forest of Arden.¹

2. Bötticher objects to what seems a beginning of the story of Anfortas at various times, and an interruption without a reason that he can detect. An attempt has already been made above to explain this. The first mention has occurred 455, 13 f., where he is named to honor Kyot. The second time, 472, 21–30, Anfortas is held up to Parzival as an example of the ruin that

¹ *As You Like It*, Act II, scene 7.

comes from pride and arrogance. The last reference is the full account, after Trevrizent knows that the knight before him is his own nephew, from whom he need withhold nothing. (477, 19 f.)

In his school edition¹ Bötticher has omitted the first two references to Anfortas, viz., 455, 13 f., and 472, 21–30; but the editor and translator should not be taken to task for the number of his omissions, since he is producing an abridged *Parzival* for the use of the secondary schools. But he does not stop there; he occasionally adds a line as a connecting link, and rearranges sections according to his ideas of improvement of the original; for example on p. 197, where 499, 18–29 has been inserted after 476, 30. A justification for such highhanded censorship Bötticher thinks unnecessary. “Einer besonderen Rechtfertigung bedarf es hoffentlich nicht” (“Vorrede,” p. vii.) Bötticher’s version of the ninth book is undoubtedly a logical piece of composition, but the life of the original and the subtle play of emotion between hermit and knight are lost entirely.

The following analysis, suggested by similar outlines by Bötticher and Nolte, will recapitulate what has been said on the preceding pages. The section 433, 1—452, 13 has not been included in the earlier analyses just mentioned. It should be regarded nevertheless as the fitting prelude to the Trevrizent scenes. Both episodes included in the section—Sigune in the lonely forest cloister, and the Good Friday pilgrims led by the gray knight—strike the deep chord that vibrates throughout the whole of the ninth book. This portion of the epic resounds, not with the noisy din of battle or the merry thrill of festivity, but with the solemn note of worship, of remorse, and atonement. These episodes likewise yield a view of *Parzival*’s state of mind before he comes to Trevrizent. In the first instance he is not greatly moved by Sigune’s sorrow, he is too self-centered and thinks more of his own troubles:

“ich solte trünn umb dñe klage,
wan daz ich höhern kumber trage
danne ie man getrüege.
min nöt ist zungefüege.”

—442, 5–8.

¹ *Parzival von Wolfram von Eschenbach*, in neuer Übertragung für alle Freunde deutscher Dichtung erläutert und zum Gebrauche an höheren Lehranstalten eingerichtet: von Dr. GOTTHOLD BÖTTICHER (Berlin, 1885).

Again, when he gives his horse the reins to seek the way, in his proud heart he is giving the Lord one last chance to help him, 452, 1-12.

I proceed to an

ANALYSIS OF BOOK IX.

I. INTRODUCTION (433, 1—455, 22).

- 433, 1—434, 30. Parzival's adventures since leaving Arthur's court.
- 435, 1—442, 26. Sigune in the forest cloister and Parzival.
- 442, 27—451, 2. Meeting with the gray knight and his party.
- 451, 3—455, 24. P. gives reins to his horse and goes in the direction of the hermitage. Digression concerning sources.

II. EXPOSITION OF CHARACTER OF HERMIT AND KNIGHT.

- 455, 25—460, 27. Arrival and reception of P.

III. RISE OF ACTION (460, 28—487, 30).

- 460, 28—461, 26. Stage 1: First confession of P.
- 461, 27—467, 10. Stage 2: T. instructs P. in the nature of God.
- 467, 11—468, 22. Stage 3: T. finds root of P.'s dissatisfaction; longing (1) for Grail, (2) for his wife. T.'s praise for (2) and ridicule of (1), since only predestined win Grail.
- 468, 23—471, 29. Stage 4: Description of the Grail mysteries. (The Grail motif ends.)
- 471, 30—473, 4. Stage 5: Parzival's presumptuous desire to be elected. T. on the dangers of pride. Examples.
- 473, 5—474, 24. Stage 6: T. attempts to find out who the knight before him is.
- 474, 25—484, 30. Stage 7: On discovery that P. is nephew of T., the relation changes. T. overthrows P.'s self-consciousness by direct appeal to his conscience. Charges him with murder (1) of Ither, (2) of his mother. Effect on P. T. speaks of the living, of the life and sufferings of Anfortas. Not knowing that P. has visited the Grail, T. speaks of the "tumber" who ruined his chance at the Grail. Silence of P.
- 485, 1—487, 30. Stage 8: Frugal meal at the hermitage preparing P.'s second confession.

IV. CLIMAX.

488, 1—489, 21. P.'s second confession. T.'s consolation.

V. DECLINE OF ACTION, AND CLOSE (489, 22—502, 30).

- 489, 22—491, 18. Additional explanations: spear, knives, the fisherman. (Effect: to relieve P.'s suffering, and uplift him.)
- 491, 19—495, 12. P. tells his experiences at the Grail court, suggesting more questions to T.
- 495, 13—499, 10. T. tells the story of his life.
- 499, 11—501, 6. T. sums up P.'s sins.
- 501, 7—501, 18. Period of atonement, fifteen days.
- 501, 19—502, 30. Last day. P. continues to show interest, asking about Titurel. T.'s counsel to guard priests and women. T. absolves P. from his sins. The parting.

It appears from the foregoing that there are not only definite and continuous stages of progress in the action of the Trevrizent scenes, but that there is dramatic power in the method of construction. The conclusion is forced upon us that the ninth book of Wolfram's *Parzival* is a literary masterpiece, as much in composition as in thought and expression. Naturally, when viewing its symbolism and mysticism, we must be mindful of the taste and bias of the age in which the work was written. We should be as tolerant of the Grail lore and of mediæval superstition as we are of the phantasmagoria, the grotesque imagery and hocuspocus of Goethe's *Faust*.

If we compare Wolfram's ninth book with the only extant contemporary treatment of the same theme, that of Chrestien de Troyes, *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal*, lines 7590—7892,¹ the Middle High German work cannot but rise mightily in our estimation. Chrestien gave to the subject of Parzival's regeneration 302 lines; Wolfram, 2,100. But not alone in expansiveness or thoroughness did the latter exceed his contemporary. His portraiture compares with the French model as a life-like painting in color with an outline sketch in charcoal. The most important feature in which Wolfram gains the mastery over Chrestien is in his power of motivation, that is, his ability to assign motive for

¹ *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal*. Publié d'après les manuscrits originaux par CH. POTVIN. (Mons, 1866.)

action, and his resourcefulness in preparing every stage of it. Exactly how much credit for this belongs to Wolfram and how much is attributable to his sources remains still a mooted question. It is beyond the purpose of this paper to enter into the intricate, yet fascinating maze of the Kyot discussion, which is not without present-day champions.¹ The question may never be satisfactorily settled. But whoever wrote the epic, whether Wolfram with Chrestien alone as his model, or whether Wolfram-Kyot, in which Kyot represents the model or models which Wolfram followed very closely, the fact remains that these joint labors have produced what Alfred Nutt² has aptly called "the most interesting individual work of modern European literature prior to the *Divina Commedia*;" a literary masterpiece, moreover, which, when measured by the standards of the age in which it was written, even when measured by absolute standards, takes very high rank in the world's literature. Concerning the appreciation of this mediæval edifice, in which the ninth book from my subjective view-point appears the keystone of the arch, the same oft-quoted maxim holds which Goethe applied to all literary criticism:

Wer den Dichter will verstehen
Muss in Dichters Lande gehen.

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¹ E.g., WESSELOFSKY, *Die Erzählungen von Babilon, der Stiftshütte, und dem hl. Gral.* (Petersburg, 1896.) Cf. S. SINGER, "Über die Quellen von Wolframs Parzival," *Zeitschr. f. d. Altertum*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 321-42; JULIUS LICHTENSTEIN, "Zur Parzivalfrage," PBB., Vol. XXII, pp. 1-93.

² ALFRED NUTT, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, (London, 1888), p. 248.

NOTE ON ALBRUNA.

AT chap. 8 of the *Germania*, where Tacitus is speaking of the gods of the Germans, the MSS read *Aurinia*, *Albrima*, and *Albrinia*. On purely philological grounds W. Wackernagel, in the *Schweizer. Mus. f. hist. Wissensch.*, Vol. I, p. 109, proposed the reading *Albruna* from O. H. G. *alb* and *rūna*, a reading which has been adopted by all later editors of the *Germania*. It may be of some interest to know that the new Toledo MS of this work of Tacitus actually gives as a variant this true Teutonic form, and thus establishes the correctness of Wackernagel's conjecture. The same MS is also remarkably correct in reproducing, in the body of the text or on the margin, other Teutonic words, where all, or almost all, the other leading MSS are in error. Cases in point are *Hercynio* 30, *Semnones* 39, *Langobardi* 40, *Suardones* 40, and *Helisios* 43.

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LANCE SUR FAUTRE.

IN a note by Professor W. H. Brown, entitled "Fewter," in Vol. XVI, No. 8, of the *Modern Language Notes*, the author asked for the exact meaning of Middle English *fewter*, equal to Old French *fautre*. I have collected some facts on *fautre* which may help to a better understanding of that word.

Old French *fautre*, sometimes written *faultre*, *faltre*, *fatre*, *feutre*, *feltre*, modern French *feutre*, comes from Germanic *filt* (German *Filz*), and means in the first place *felt*, or *something made of felt*.¹ But its most frequent occurrence in Old English is in the phrase *lance sur fautre*, by which is denoted a certain movement or position of the lance in combat. An exact explanation of *fautre* in regard to this usage is what Professor Brown especially asks for in the note in question. He is inclined to accept a definition given by Godefroy, *s. v. fautre* 2: "arrêt fixé au plastron de fer pour recevoir le bois de la lance lorsqu'on chargeait à cheval;" but this definition is in contradiction with another remark in the same dictionary, *s. v. afeutrer, afautrer*: "afeutrer la lance, l'appuyer sur la partie feutrée de la selle, la mettre en arrêt." Bonnard and Salmon in their abridged edition of Godefroy's dictionary explain *fautre*: "garniture de feutre placée sur l'arçon de devant, et qui servait à appuyer la lance lorsqu'on chargeait;" and they keep the above-mentioned definition of *afeutrer*. This definition of *fautre* agrees better with the etymological meaning of the word. Besides, a lance-rest fixed on the armor of the knight to support the shaft of the lance was impossible, as long as the knights wore only mailcoats; the breastplate on which the lance-rest was fastened did not come into use before the fourteenth century.

Léon Gautier² refers to the different ways in which the lance was carried, and says that during the march and before the

¹ Cf. GODEFROY, *Lexique de l'ancien français*, *s. v. fautre* 3; SCHULTZ, *Höfisches Leben sur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Vol. II, p. 493; also H. HAVARD, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration*, tome II, p. 707, *s. v. feutrer*.

² *La chevalerie*, 3d ed., p. 713, note.

combat the knight held the lance vertically, resting it either on the stirrup or on the felt lining of the saddle. At the beginning of the duel or the battle the lances were lowered. But in a note to p. 730 he expresses his doubts as to the exact meaning of *fautre* and its use in connection with the lance. Schultz, *l. c.*, in note to p. 287, says: "Man stützte die Lanze auf den Sattelknopf, der um ein festeres Lager zu gewähren mit Filz beschlagen war." Schultz refers to a passage in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parcival*:¹

dô sazte er die glaevin
vorn tñf des satels vilzelin.

Grimm's dictionary, *s. v. Filzlein*, refers to the same passage, bringing it in connection with *Filzsattel* or *Sattel mit Filzbesatz*. Schultz further cites a number of passages from Old French with *fautre* or verbs derived from *fautre*, which illustrate his remark. The quotation from Wolfram von Eschenbach is probably the only instance where *vilzelin* is used in that sense, but the following Old French passages seem to correspond closely to it in meaning.

Si gentil homme
S'esmeument, tuit chieres levees,
Lances a arçons afeutrees,
Pour plus dures colees rendre.²

and

Cascuns ot sa lance apoie
Devant son arçon sor le fautre.³

Schultz⁴ reports that a cover of felt was laid upon the saddle to make the seat softer; and a letter recently received from the Germanisches Museum in Nürnberg says that every saddle in the museum is lined with felt. In this letter the fact is also mentioned that the part of the lance held by the knight was covered with felt. Victor Gay⁵ also refers to a felt trimming of the lance which he believes to be identical with the Old French *fautre*. He says:⁶ "Le fautre, fatre ou feutre des XII^e et XIII^e siècles

¹ Ed. BARTSCH, Part II, p. 219.

² G. GUIART, *Roy. Lign.*; see GODEFROY, *s. v. afeutrer*.

³ *Perceval*, 3838, 3839.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 493.

⁵ In his *Glossaire archéologique du moyen age et de la renaissance* (Paris, 1887).

⁶ Tome I, p. 694.

est proprement une couverture, une garniture de laine feutrée fixée à la partie de la lance qui s'insérait sous le bras du cavalier au moment d'une charge et empêchait la hampe de glisser par l'effet du choc." I think this explanation would be in contradiction to the above-mentioned passages from Wolfram von Eschenbach, Guiart, and *Perceval*, which leave no doubt that only the felt on the saddle can be understood in *lance sur fautre*.

If we accept that *lance sur fautre* means the lance resting on the felt of the saddle, there is still to be decided in which way it rested upon it. The explanations given by Bonnard-Salmon and Schultz seem to indicate that they understand *lance sur fautre* as referring to the horizontal position of the lance during the attack. The quotations from Old French given by Godefroy and Schultz in reference to this expression, and the reference to Wolfram von Eschenbach, describe the attitude of a knight previous to or during the attack. Pictures in manuscripts which show attacking knights of the eleventh and twelfth century demonstrate that the lance was held either vertically, with the butt resting on the saddle, or horizontally under the pit of the arm and high above the saddle. Now, if *lance sur fautre* means the lance in horizontal position resting on the felt covering of the saddle, it is impossible that the expression could refer to the position of the lance in attack. In that case the head of the horse would be in the way, and the lance would have to lie diagonally, with the butt standing out on the right side of the horse and the point on the left side of the horse's head, which is, of course, an impossible position.

The correct meaning of this expression is given by De Reiffenberg in his edition of Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée* (Brussels, 1838). In his note to vs. 14650 (tome II, p. 95) he adopts the meaning *lance haute* for it, and refers to a passage from Wace which illustrates his explanation :

E Galerant sa gent conduit,
Lances leuees uinent tuit.
Quant pres furent d'itel endreit,
Com hom pierre ieter porreit,
Laschent les regnes si s'eslaissent,

Lieuent escuz et lances beissen,
Sur le conrei Neel turnerent,
Granz colps e granz buz lur dunerent;¹

That the lances could not have been held horizontally when *sur fautre* appears also from the following passage :

Lors i ot très grant tençon
Que li Normant à esliçon
Le conte Herluin tuèrent
Et XII contes ki là èrent
Avec le roi et tout li autre
S'enfuirent lance sour fautre.²

It would be absurd to think that the knights fled holding their lances horizontally. The same is true for a description of a procession of knights who ride two and two to a tournament :

Il s'atirierent belement
-Ij- et -ij-, tuit li -j- lez l'autre,
La lance peinte sor le fautre.³

Méliador, after having broken two lances, takes a new one which his *escuier* was bringing *sus fautre* :

Son escuier a moult quoitié
Et dist : "Vieng avant, si me baille
Ce tierch plançon. Il fault sans faille
Qu'il s'acquitte mieulz que li autre."
Et cilz, qui le portoit sus fautre,
Li a errant ens ou poing mis.⁴

The lance brought to Méliador by his squire can only refer to its vertical position because there was no occasion for the squire to be ready to attack personally.

Not only the *lances* are *sur fautre*, but also the *espées*, which can, of course, only apply to a vertical position with the handles resting on the saddle :

Sept menieres sont de batailles :
L'une si est per comançailles
Teles quant ensoignes, bannieres
Et janz de trestotes menieres

¹ *Roman de Rou*, ed. ANDRESEN, vss. 1541-48.

² *Ibid.*, vss. 14645-50.

³ *Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. SERVOIS, vss. 2463-65.

⁴ JEAN FROISSART, *Méliador*, ed. A. LONGNON, vss. 11204-9.

S'urtent et d'une part et d'autre
 Chascuns s'espee ou lance en fautre
 A ost quarrey et a frone large,
 Ausi con li fol et li saige
 Toz jors l'ont costumey a faire
 Et fait l'on encor sanz retraire.¹

It would be impossible to imagine a troop of knights forming a square and holding their lances otherwise than vertical.

Another passage referring to *espees sus les fautres* is:

Agamenor, qui les estas
 D'armes savoit mieulz que nulz aultres,
 Voit que les espées sur les fautres
 Si doi adversaire portoient,
 Et grandement se deportoient
 En leur bonne chevalerie.²

E. Gachet in his glossary to the *Chevalier au Cygne* and *Godefroid de Bouillon* (Brussels, 1854) comes to the same conclusion, without mentioning De Reiffenberg's previous explanation. He cites the following passage from the *Roman de Renart*:³

Primes i cort, ainz que li autre,
 Lance levee sor le fautre,
 Roonel, le chien dant Frobert,
 Et Espillart, le chien Robert.

He thinks the knights carried the lances high when ready for battle, and did not lower them until near the enemy. Gachet asks where the lances were before they were put *sur fautre*. The answer that he gives is that they were carried by the squire of the knight shortly before the combat. This conjecture is supported by the passage from *Méliador* cited above and by a quotation from *L'Escoufle*.⁴

Li quens s'atorne et apareille
 Por avoir la premiere joute,
 Et ses vallès lés lui s'ajouste
 Ki li met en la main la lance.

¹ JEAN PRIORAT, *Li Abrejance de l'Ordre de Chevalerie*, ed. ULYSSE ROBERT, vss. 7199-208.

² JEAN FROISSART, *Méliador*, ed. AUG. LONGNON, vss. 22001-6.

³ Ed. MARTIN, *Va*, vss. 1185-88.

⁴ Ed. H. MICHELAUT AND P. MEYER, vss. 1178-81.

The expression *lance sur fautre* was also used in a metaphoric sense meaning "promptly," "without delay."¹ Froissart uses that phrase in the following passages:

Di moi quel part s'en sont alé
Ceuls qui n'ont chanté ne parlé,
Mes sont partis lance sus fautre
Tout ensamble, l'un avec l'autre,²

Et me delivra, à Ferrare,
Sire Tiercelés de la Bare
A son commandant, lance sus fautre
Quarante ducas l'un sur l'autre.³

Et en après, pour recincier
Le doule air qui venoit sus fautre,
Il rendoit à la fois un aultre
Qu'on recœilloit par grant solas.⁴

Godefroy's wrong explanation of *fautre* (*s. v. fautre*) may have been caused by a confusion of *fautre* and *faucre*, though only the former of the two is found in Old French. Victor Gay⁵ states that since the publication of P. Borel's *Trésor des antiquités Gauloises et Françaises* (Paris, 1655) a wrong reading of *fautre* by that author has put *faucre* into circulation. *Faucre*, which is probably a recent variant of *fautre* through association with Latin *fulcrum*, is the name given to the lance-rest affixed to the right side of the breastplate in order to support the lance.⁶ This lance-rest appears first as a simple hook in the latter half of the fourteenth century, but subsequently becomes a more elaborate contrivance. A detailed description of this lance-rest is given by J. Rob. Planché, *A Cyclopædia of Costumes*.⁷ P. Borel in his above-mentioned book explains, "Faucre—c'est l'arrest de la lance," and adds two quotations from *Perceval*:

Et met la lance el faucre et point.
Escu au col, lance sor faucre.

¹ Cf. *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. KERVIN, glossary to Vol. III, p. 354.

² "Le Dit don Florin," *Poësies*, Vol. II, p. 254.

³ "Le joli buisson de Jonece," *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ Cf. also LITTRÉ, *s. v.*

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 694.

⁷ London, 1876, Vol. I, p. 337.

The correct reading, of course, is *fautre*. Mistakes of this kind where *faucre* is the result of inaccurate reading in place of *fautre* may have inaugurated the confusion between *fautre* and *faucre*. Also Littré explains *faucre* as being the lance-rest on the knight's breastplate. If the iron hook upon which the lance rested was really called *faucre* (Godefroy does not mention the word in his dictionary), then it surely had nothing to do with the *fautre* of the previous centuries.

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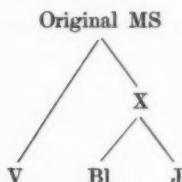
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

NOTES ON THE BLICKLING HOMILIES.

I. ST. MARTIN.¹

In addition to the Blickling MS the Life of St. Martin is contained in two other MSS, both unprinted: (1) MS Junius 86, foll. 62-81 (=J), and (2) the Vercelli MS, foll. 95-101 (=V). A comparison of these with Bl enables us to correct the text in a number of passages, and the object of the following notes is to make these corrections. The source of the Homily is, as M. Förster pointed out,² the *Vita S. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus (ed. Halm, in the *Corpus script. eccles.*, Vol. I, p. 109), and for the last portion, the death of the saint, Sulpicius's *Epistula tertia* (*ibid.*, p. 147). The English version is very much shortened and the translation is free, so that only in comparatively few cases does the Latin original afford help in the correction of the English rendering.

The relationship of the three English MSS may be represented by the following diagram, which does not indicate possible intermediate links:



As was pointed out by Hardy,³ the three MSS evidently fall into two groups, the first comprising Bl and J, which are derived from a common source X, and the other consisting of the single MS V. That Bl and J form a narrower group is shown by the passage missing in Bl and J, but preserved in V (No. 32, below),

¹ *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. MORRIS, pp. 211 ff.

² *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. XCI, p. 200. F. also discusses four passages of the Homily, viz., 215:22, 221:26, 227:10, 227:20. The Latin original is quoted as L.

³ A. K. HARDY, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 116 ff.

as well as by a number of passages in which Bl and J have a wrong reading in common where V reads correctly. These are Nos. 4, 7, 14, 26, 31, and 36.

That, on the other hand, X is not derived from V is shown by numerous errors in the latter, where Bl and J both have the correct reading. The following instances will suffice:

211:24, 25. *ah he sona . . . bonne pa]* ac he wæs on
Godes peowdome mycle swidor & lufode bonne pa V.

213:24. *forylde]* forgulde V.

213:27, 28. *Martinus . . . man]* M. dyde. He sona
in enihthade gedyde þeac þara godra dæda ma wære bonne
hit ænig man V; etc.

That J is not derived from Bl is proved by Nos. 2, 3, 6, 11, 15, 20, 21, 24, 34, 38, 39. Nor, on the other hand, is Bl derived from J, as shown by the numerous errors of the latter:

211:22. *cininges degna*, omitted J.

213:12. *geferum]* gerefum J.

215:13. *mare* Bl, *mā* V, *mete* J.

217:17. *dagas]* gær J. L has *triduum*; etc.

The following are the emended passages:

1. 211:14. After *weordiað* add *& mærsiað* J, V.
2. 211:23. Read *Iuliani* J, or *-nus* V. L has *sub Iuliano caesare*.
3. 211:26. For *þreas* read *dreamas*, as in J. V has *þa dreamas & þa welan*.
4. 211:28, 29. For *þæt se æresta . . . gecyrred*, with which J substantially agrees, read with V *þæt bið sio onginnes & se æresta dæl þære halgan fulwihte*. L has nothing corresponding. Martin was as yet only a catechumen, the *fulwiht* (*baptismum*) did not follow till he was eighteen years old; cf. 215:34-36, 213:3 (see below, No. 6), also 213:14-16, and 215:22. The preliminary ceremony (*cristnung*) is here described as the first part of the *fulwiht*.
5. 211:30. For *wuldorlice* (om. in J) read *wundorlice* with V. L has *mirum in modum*.

6. 213:3. For *feower* read *þreō* with J, V.¹ L has *triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit.*
- 7.² 213:4. For *wæpnum* (in both Bl and J) read *synnum* with V. L has *integer tamen ab iis vitiis.*
8. 213:7. For *wærnesse* (Bl, J) read *swetnesse* V? L has *caritas.*
9. 213:34. For & *ælmessan* read *on æl.* with J, V.
10. 213:35. For *nænigre* read *ænige* with J, V.
11. 215:3. After *naht elles* add *næfde* J, or *hæfde* V. Zupitza,³ who had not access to J or V, suggested adding *nāhte* before *naht.*
12. 215:4. For *healf* read *eall* with J, V. In Bl *eal* was originally written.
13. 215:20, 21. Read *Ða geseah he myccle mengeo engla emb Drihten standende* (or *standan?*) & *ða gehyrde he hine, Drihten sylfne, mid switolre stefne to ðæm englum cweðendne* (or *cweðan?*). The readings of J and V are: *Ða geseah he myccele mænigo ængla ymbe hine Drihten stándan & ða gehýrde he Drihten sélfnæ mid swa cuðre stéfne & to þan englum cwæð* J, & *þa ges. he m. engla weorod ymbe þane Dr. standende, & þa geh. hine Dr. eac mid switolre st. to englum cweðan* V. L has *Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem audit Iesum clara uoce dicentem.*
14. 215:21-23. *Martinus gegyredest.* L has *Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contexit.* The readings of J, V are: *M. nu ðu eart gecristnod ár his fulwihte mid ðisum hrægle ðu me gegyredest* J, *M. nu iu cwæð þus gecristnod ár his fulwihte he mid þysse hrægle me gegyrede* V. The reading of V is obviously the best. I should, however, propose to delete the *cwæð þus.*
15. 215:25. Delete *ge cwædon*, which is wanting in J, V.
16. 217:9. *geornful* & *be gewyrhtum ymb(e)* *Drihtnes láre* Bl, J. Morris renders it by "diligent in his works concerning the Lord's lore," thus ignoring the &. Instead of *be gew.* we should expect an adjective. V reads *geornful* &

¹ Already noted by HARDY, p. 118.² Already noted by HARDY, p. 117.³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XXVI, p. 218.

bīwyrde in Dr. l. Had the original some compound of *-wyrde* meaning "eloquent"? An adjective *bīwyrde* is improbable.

17. 217:21. Read *stodan, þa*.¹ Cf. *unrōte wəran ymbe þæt līc ða* J, *unr. leton ymbe þæt lic & hie utan stodon þa* V.
18. 217:26. For *inbeleac* read *beleac*, as in J, V.
19. 217. For *deadan* read *aswoltenan*. Cf. *aswóltonan* J, *aswoltenes* V.²
20. 217:29. For *unsorh* read *unforht*, as in J. Cf. *unforhtlice* V, *intrepidus* L.³
21. 219:32. For *næfde* read *næfre*,¹ as in J. The passage is wanting in V.
22. 219:33. J has the better reading & *ealle men ða ðe feor ge néah ðyses éadigan weres lif cuðan oððe gehýrdan*. Wanting in V.
23. 221:14. For *pœm gelicost swylce* read *on ða gelicnesse swa* with J. V has *in þam gelicnesse swa*.
24. 221:28. For *heora geatwum* read *heregeatwum*, as in J, V.
25. 221:33. For *eal* read *ð* as in J, V.
26. 223:12. For the *mægene* of Bl and J the original probably had *egesan*, as in V. L has *diuino metu*.
27. 223:21. Before *fyldon* add *braecon &*, as in J, V.
28. 223:32. After *fordemde* add *ne ne witnode*, as in V. J has *ne he wile ne nam*.
29. 223:36. Read *aht elles of his muðe* with J, V.
30. 225:1. Read *ne aht elles on his heortan*, with J, V.
31. 225:4. For the *rihte* of Bl and J read *ætrihte*, as in V. Cf. *dixitque fratribus dissolutionem sui corporis immi-nere*, L.
32. 225:9 After *ferde* the following passage, which is wanting both in Bl and J, occurs in V. As a corresponding passage is found in the Latin,³ there can be no doubt that this formed part of the OE. original. *Da cwomon hie to sumre ea, þa gesawon hie welfala þara fugela þe we scealfras nemnab, & hie ða fixas up tugon of þære ea, & þeah þe*

¹ Already suggested by ZUPITZA, p. 219.

² Already noted by HARDY, p. 118.

³ L, p. 147, §§ 8, 9.

heora hwylc bone fisc forswulge, þonne wæs he eft swa gifre swa he ær wæs, þæt he oðerne gename. Da cwæð Sēs Martinus, "Hwæt, þas wiht habbað deofla onlicnesse, swa se¹ deofol á sætāp hwær he mæge unware men beswican, & he næfre to þæs feala berædeð þæt he æfre ful sie." Ða bebead Sēs Martinus þam fugelum þæt hie þanon fram þam wætere gewiten & on westen & drige² land sohton. & efne on þa gelicnesse swa he bone deoful of stowa gehwylcre geslymde þær he þonne wæs, swa ða fugelas sona ealle etsomne onweg gewiton, þæt heora nan aetstod furðum³ behindan. & hie þæt wundredon þe þæt gesawon & his feran wæron, þæt ða fugelas sylfe eac Sēs Martine gehyrdon.

- 33. 225:14. For *wæron* . . . unrote read *weapon* hie ealle sona with V. J has *wéópan* hie *sóna* ealle.
- 34. 225:17. For *arisende* read *risende* "rapacious" with J. Cf. L, *lupi rapaces*. V has *rixiende*.
- 35. 225:18. Read & *todr.* with J, V.
- 36. 225:21, 22. Da he . . . *geseah*. V has here preserved the best reading *ða he ða heora sprace þyllice gehyrde & he hie ealle wepende geseah*. J has *ða he ða ðás word gespræc & ðis gehyrde & he ealle wépende geseah*.
- 37. 225:26. For *nedþ-* read *ðearflic* with J, V.
- 38. 225:28. Before *ge þæt he leng* supply *ge þæt he ða broðor* (*gebroðran* J) *forlete*, as in J, V.
- 39. 225:29. For *bone gesawe* read *ða ne gesawe* "should not see it," as in J, V. After *gesawe* a piece is missing in V.
- 40. 225:34. For *for þinre campunga* read *for ðe campige* with J. Cf. L *militabo*.
- 41. 225:36. For *ðeah* read *ði*, "therefore," as in J.
- 42. 227:10. J as well as Bl has *caran*, but we must no doubt alter to *hæran*, as suggested by M. Förster, p. 201.
- 43. 227:20. J reads *respicere*; cf. Zupitza, p. 219, and M. Förster, p. 201.

¹ MS *þe*.² MS *ðrige*.³ MS *furðun*.

⁴ Fol. 100b of V ends with *gesawe*, and fol. 101 begins with *hefonlican* (see below, No. 44, note 4). The missing passage corresponds in length to about two pages of the Vercelli MS, so that no doubt a leaf has been lost between fols. 100 and 101.

44. 227:25. The remainder of the homily, which is wanting in Bl, is contained in J, and the last portion also in V. It runs in J: *Hwæt stándest ðu, wælgrím wildeor? Náfast ðu méde aht æt me, ac me scyl Abrahámes bárm, þæt is seo éce rést, onfón.*" Da he da ðis cwað, da wearð his & wlita swa blidelic, & his mód swa geféonde, þæt hie éfne méahtan on ðan gáre ongytan þæt he gástlicne geféan geseah, & þæt hine héofonlic werod gefétoðe. & he da swa gefeonde ðas sar-lican . . . ¹ ofo² gelet, & hine da ðre Dri . . . ³ to his ðam héofonlican⁴ rice nam. *Hwæl, wé nu gehérað hu⁵ eaðmod-lice⁶ des éadiga wer⁷ his lif for Gode gelyfode ða hwile de he her on wurold wæs, & hu fáger⁸ edlean he⁹ æt urum Drihtne onféng; & nu d ða hwile de ðeos wúrold stánded his god¹⁰ mæn¹¹ mærslað geond éalne ðisne¹² middangeard on Godes cyricean; & hé nu mid eallum halgum to¹³ wídan féore on heofena rice for Drihtnes onsyne¹⁴ gefehð & blissad. Ac utan¹⁵ tyligan þæt¹⁶ we ðyses éadigan weres líf & his dæda onhyrigan ðæs de ðre geméti sige; & utan hine biddan ðæt he us sige¹⁷ on heofonum ðingere wið ðrne Drihten, nu we her on éordan his¹⁸ gemynd wyrðiað. To¹⁹ ðan ðis gefultumige ure Drihten, se leofað & ricsað a²⁰ butan éende, Amen.*

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¹ A portion of the parchment has crumbled away here.

² So MS. Read *hafot* ³ The edge has crumbled away. Read *drihten*.

⁴ V begins again here. I give the variants other than those of spelling.

⁵ Before *hu* V has *M* = *Men þa leafstan.* ⁶ *haliglice* V. ⁷ *wer Sēs Martinus* V.

⁸ *fágerum edleannum* V. ⁹ *he þas* V. ¹⁰ *gód* V. ¹¹ *man mærað* V.

¹² *disne* om. V. ¹³ *d* to V. ¹⁴ *onsyne* V, in J only *ne* is left.

¹⁵ *utan we la* V. ¹⁶ *M* *þæt we þas halgan w. Sēs Martinus* V.

¹⁷ *Sige* is guessed from the *sie* in V. It has been inked over by a later hand to *site*, and the original letters cannot be made out.

¹⁸ *his gem.] hine geond middangeard* V. ¹⁹ *Dr. us to þam gef. se de* V.

²⁰ *ðd in callra worulda woruld a* V.

NOTES ON THE "POEMA DEL CID"

IN FURTHER PROOF OF ITS SPANISH NATIONALITY.

THE conclusions of Milá y Fontanals in his *De la poesia heroico-popular castellana*, somewhat hesitating though they be, are undoubtedly correct, so far as our present knowledge permits us to judge of the influence of the French epic upon heroic-popular poetry in Spain. That some such influence existed there can be no doubt. It is all a question of degree. Milá was rightly concerned to indicate the fallacy of the wholesale conclusions drawn by Damas-Hinard, who edited the *Poema del Cid* with a French translation in 1858. It is the delight of this French editor to point out in his copious notes the resemblance, or at times the absolute identity, which exists between certain passages of the Spanish poem and the *Chanson de Roland*. The day of international jealousies in literary disputes had not yet passed. Indeed, it is not difficult for one more versed than Damas-Hinard in the abundant epic texts which have been published in France since the latter's day, to approach the *Poema del Cid* with a marked prejudice in favor of French influence upon the Spanish poem. The fact that the literary intercourse between southern France and Castile via Catalonia was close makes it easy for one to go too far in crediting the Spanish *joglars* with no epic originality. Milá did not refuse, nor should we refuse, to admit that the currency of French epic poems dealing with Charlemagne should have inspired a similar composition in Castilian upon a Spanish heroic-popular subject. We can see no reason for holding that epic poetry as a genre developed in Spain independent of all French influence. The very scarceness of any epic poems preserved in Spanish from a period when a similarly constituted feudal society in France was celebrating its local heroes in heroic epic songs, seems to betray the absence of the epic tendency in Spain. But even this admission made, we are very far from holding that the *Poema del Cid* is a base imitation of a French *chanson de geste*. The *Poema del Cid* in spirit is as

national a poem as one could wish. The form and some of the conventional features of the French songs have, insensibly perhaps, been utilized by the composer of the *Poema del Cid*. But beneath throbs the pulse of the Spaniard—his ideals, his sentiments, his practices, both private and public. Dozy¹ has pointed out that the Spanish poem, unlike the *Chanson de Roland*, is inspired by no great ideal, either religious or patriotic. What Damas-Hinard does not seem to have realized is that, in its material spirit of self-aggrandizement, the *Poema* is rather to be compared with certain poems of the French feudal cycle, wherein the reality of the strenuous warrior's life is narrated without the inspiring presence of a great ideal. Let us see now where this comparison holds and where it breaks down.

Having admitted, then, the existence of points of resemblance which show the *Poema del Cid* to be related to the French epic, we may note the features in the former which support the parallel. It will be seen that they are of paltry weight compared with the points of divergence to be noted later.²

1. The enemies of the Christians are the Moors, who, though superior in numbers, are always defeated.
2. The Cid and his men are especially protected by God (1094), the angel Gabriel once appearing to the Cid in a dream (406).
3. The hero's plans are blocked by "traitors," over whom, however, the hero finally triumphs.
4. The Cid's horse, Bavieca, and his two swords, Colada and Tizon, are frequently mentioned by name.
5. The true warrior's virtues are bravery, faith in God, generosity, and loyalty to the king.
6. The king, Alfonso, occupies a comparatively inconspicuous position, like that of Charlemagne in the French poems.
7. Jherónimo, the fighting bishop, is almost the exact prototype of Turpin in the *Roland*.
8. The religious and feudal practices of the warriors are described in detail.
9. The long prayer of the Cid's wife (330-65).

¹ *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne au moyen âge*, 2d ed., 2 vols., Leyde, 1860.

² The references are to the edition of the *Poema del Cid* by MENÉNDEZ PIDAL.

10. The "gabs" of the Cid and the Moorish king, Bucar, before their battle (2409-17).

11. Occasional verses of description of combats (765-67, 2421-24).

Some of these points of resemblance have been drawn out by Damas-Hinard as proof of his theory. But if we examine them, we notice, as Milá has pointed out, that there is hardly one which cannot be explained without impairing the essential originality of the *Poema*. The religious beliefs, the feudal practices, the hostility of the Moors (at least in tradition) were common to western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. From a social milieu which was so similar as that then existing in France and in Spain there was bound to come a popular poetry which should bear many of the same traits. Yet Spain was far from being France, and our Spanish *cantar de gesta* is very far from being a made-over French *chanson de geste*. Here we have noted some of the more essential differences which lie hid in the very marrow of the *Poema*.

1. The war against the Moors is no longer one dictated by lofty and disinterested religious motives, but avowedly by the love of plunder. It is not a question of how many infidels were converted, but of how much booty was taken (473 f., 548, 617, 688, 794 f., 1016, 1149, 1233 f., 1733 f., 1772 f., 2493 f.).

2. The distribution of this booty, of which one-fifth is reserved for the Cid himself (in accordance with the *Siete Partidas*, as Damas-Hinard points out), is an important consideration (510 f., 804 f., 1216 f., 1780 f., 2489).

3. Substantial gifts are made to the king (815-18, 1270-74, 1813, 1814, 2144-46).

4. The battle scenes are not developed, but are dismissed with a few words, indicating plainly a lack of interest in such details (765-67, 2421-25). In only one passage (3623-92), describing the terrible judicial combat at the end of the poem between six champions, are there the familiar details of head-breaking upon which the French *jongleur* so tenderly lingered.

5. A material, bourgeois spirit is evidenced in the episodes with the Jewish money-lenders (106-200, 1431-38), in the aspirations

of the Cid for worldly favor which run all through the poem, and in his relations with the women of his family. As Dozy calls him, the Cid is an excellent *père de famille*, but hardly anything more heroic. There is no romance, but a natural family relation existing between the Cid and the women of his family, who, as Damas-Hinard remarks, are not yet entirely emancipated by chivalry (264 f., 368-75, 1594-1609, 1641, 1655, 1757-70, 2003-8, 2592-2608, 2889-95).

6. The occasional intimacy which must have existed between Moors and Christians at a time when Spain was divided between them is shown by the friendship of the Cid, who was a good deal of a freebooter after all, with the Moorish chief Avengaluon (1464, 2636, 2658, 2881).

7. The detailed geographical information is peculiar to the Spanish poem. As is the case with the wanderings of Don Quixote, so with those of the Cid every action is accompanied by accurate topographical details.

8. The saints invoked are for the most part Spanish saints, as will be shown later.

9. The ceremony of the betrothal in the presence of the king by the interchange of swords between the Cid and the two Infantes (2093), the lavish festivities of the wedding, which lasted a fortnight (2251), the summoning of all his vassals by Alfonso that they should assemble in "cortes" at Toledo to judge the suit of the Cid against the Infantes de Carrión (2961-84)—all these episodes bear the unmistakable stamp of nationality and of historic reality.

10. The importance of water to troops in a thirsty land is evidenced more than once (526, 555, 661, 667). Such a difficulty could hardly have been appreciated in France.

The points just enumerated include the essential lines of divergence followed by the *Poema del Cid*, viewed as an expression of Spanish nationality. Anyone familiar with the tone and execution of the French *chansons de geste* can follow out the study for himself. It has seemed worth while, however, to glance at the language of the poem for further proof of what already seems a certain fact. If the Spanish composer of the *Poema del*

Cid had consciously copied anywhere, he would have borrowed rhyme-tags, conventional epic epithets, *chevilles*, set phrases which required but a turn of the hand to be set down in Spanish. It will be noticed, however, how rarely we have any Old French equivalent for the epithets or the turns of phrase which occur most frequently in the *Poema del Cid*. The great majority of the latter bear the seal of nationality. I believe the figures given below are correct, so far as several careful readings of the text can make them. Where the word or phrase in question has been met but rarely the verses are noted.

In a poem of 3,735 verses we have the following epithets applied to the hero: *Cid*, 77 times; *myo Cid*, 534; *Campeador*, 155; *Cid Campeador*, 26; *el que en buen ora nasco*, 65; *el que en buen ora qinxo espada*, 13; *el de Bibar*, 19. Reference is made to the *barba*, usually of the Cid, 23 times, which proves that the beard in Spain was held in higher honor by the native warrior than was even the *barbe fleurie* of Charlemagne by his people.

The terms applied to God and the saints are very varied and show a considerable divergence from the French terminology. Of course, the following occur most often in invocations:

Dios, 91 times; *señor Dios*, 1 (2524); *el señor que es en cielo*, 1 (1094); *padre santo*, 2 (1047, 2274); *padre spiritual*, 5 (300, 372, 1102, 1633, 1651); *señor padre*, 1 (8); *señor spirital*, 1 (343); *el (padre) que esta en alto*, 5 (8, 330, 792, 2342, 2456); *Criador*, 75; *el señor del mundo*, 4 (2477, 2493, 2684, 2890); *Christus*, 5 (1933, 2074, 2477, 2830, 3727); *Jhesu Christo*, 1 (1624); *Padre Criador*, 1 (2626); *Rey del cielo*, 1 (3714); *Santa Maria (madre)*, 8; *san Pedro*, 1 (363); *santi Yague*, 3 (731, 1138, 1690); *sant Esidro*, 5 (1342, 1867, 3028, 3140, 3509); *todos los santos*, 6.

There are three expressions of time which are full of color:

1. *Los gallos cantan*, referring to the hours just before daybreak, 6 times (169, 209, 235, 316, 324, 1701).

2. *El dia es passado y entrada es la noche*, or its complement, *Passada es la noche, venida es la mañana*, occurs in various forms 8 times.

3. *De dia y de noche* (in various forms), 15 times.

Add to these the following:

1. *Una grand ora pensso y comidio*, or, *Una grand ora callo y comidio*, applied to the deliberation before action of the king or Cid, 4 times (1889, 1932, 2828, 2953).

2. *Piessan de cavalgar*, or, *Piessan de andar*, meaning the preparation to start off on horseback, 20 times.

3. *Sueltan las riendas y piessan de agujjar*, in various forms, meaning "they loose the bridles and put spurs to their steeds," 3 times (10, 227, 391).

The figurative language is represented by:

1. *Myo diestro braço*, 3 (753, 810, 3063).
2. *Cuemo la uña de la carne*, indicating close relationship, 2 (375, 2642).
3. *Lengua sin manos*, 1 (3328).
4. *Boca sin verdad*, 1 (3362).
5. *Linpia christiandad*, 1 (1116).
6. *Mar salada*, 1 (1090).
7. *Blanco como el sol*, 4 (2333, 3074, 3087, 3493).

Rich with the flavor of the Spanish tongue are:

1. *Albricias*, that is, "the request of a reward when presenting good news," 1 (14).
2. *Besar las manos*, 52.
3. *Besar los pies*, 4 (1844, 2028, 2935, 2937).
4. *Vivir muchos años*, 1 (1760).
5. *Vivir muchos días*, 1 (934).
6. *Moros y Christianos*, 10.
7. *Oro y plata*, 10.
8. *No lo precio un figo*, or, *un dinero malo*, as applied to something of little worth, 4 (77, 165, 503, 1042).

It is strange that there should be but three examples of a proverb or popular saying, for as such the following must be regarded:

1. *Qui a buen señor sirve, siempre bive en delicio*; i. e.: "he who serves a good master always lives well" (850).
2. *Non duerme sin sospecha qui aver trae monedado*; i. e.: "he who carries money rests uneasily" (126).
3. *Qui en un logar mora siempre, lo so puede menguar*; i. e.: "his possessions grow less who always stays in one place" (948).

All these indicate a distinctly material frame of mind in which the eye is singly fixed on the main chance.

Under the category of *chevilles* we have first the following expressions of willingness or heartiness:

1. *de alma y de coraçon*, 9.
2. *de amor y de grado*, 2 (1139, 2234).

3. *de coraçon y de alma*, 1 (2395).
4. *de amor y de voluntad*, 1 (1692).
5. *de voluntad y de grado*, 3 (149, 1005, 1056).
6. *de cuer y de voluntad*, 1 (226).

Then follows a long list of occasional epithets, some of which occur many times, to which perhaps it is not necessary to refer by verse. That prominent character Martin Antolinez is again and again referred to as: *Burgales complido*, *Burgales contado*, *Burgales leal*, *Burgales natural*, *Burgales de pro*. The archbishop also has significant epithets: *coronado leal*, *coronado mejor*, *christiano del Criador*, *caboso coronado*; while a still greater variety of epithets express the warlike prowess of the Cid and his followers: *el caboso*, *ardida lança*, *barba tan complida*, *caballero de pro*, *caboso Campeador*, *Campeador contado*, *caballero lidiador*, *lidiador complido*, *caballero de prestar*, *el mio fiel rassalo*. The king Alfonso and the Cid are variously addressed as:

1. *Alfonso* { ^{so} *myo* } *señor*, 3 (2024, 2036, 2044).
2. *Myo natural señor*, 1 (2031).
3. *Rey natural*, 1 (2131).
4. *Señor tan ondrado*, 2 (2142, 2295).

It only remains to add that the connection between the narrator and his audience seems very much closer than in most of the French *chansons*. I have counted in the *Poema del Cid* no less than twenty-two direct appeals or lyric exclamations coming from the *joglar* and showing his subjective share in the story he was telling.

It is believed that the internal evidence above offered from the poem itself may lend new support to the theory of Milá y Fontanals in favor of the intrinsic nationality of the *Poema del Cid*.

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THE DATES OF CHAUCER'S TROILUS AND CRISEYDE AND LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN.

IN regard to the date of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* there has been among scholars a rather striking unanimity; 1378 and 1383 have been deemed by almost everyone the extreme limits. The following table will conveniently indicate the prevailing opinions:

Shortly before 1384—ten Brink (<i>Studien</i> , 1870, pp. 123, 124, 172). ¹
1382? finished—Furnivall (<i>Trial Forewords</i> , 1871, p. 24).
1380-81—Koch (<i>Chronology</i> , 1890, p. 79).
1380-83—Pollard (<i>Chaucer Primer</i> , 1893, p. 58).
Probably about 1380-82—Skeat (<i>Oxford Chaucer</i> , 1894, Vol. II, p. xlvi).

After 1378; before 1381—Mather (*Chaucer's Prologue, etc.*, 1899, pp. xv, xvii).

But everyone must acknowledge that the evidence hitherto adduced on the subject is vaguer and weaker than that as to the date of almost any other of Chaucer's important works.

The points worthy of mention are six:

Dr. John Koch² suggests that the epithet "moral" applied to Gower in Book V, 1856, implies a reference to either the *Speculum Meditantis* (*Mirour de l'Omme*, written about 1376-79³) or the *Vox Clamantis* (after 1381⁴). But since this very passage shows that the poets were already on terms of familiarity, the allusion may quite as well be to Gower's personal qualities and conversational habits.

Secondly, ll. 1807-27 of Book V of the *Troilus* are believed by ten Brink to have been derived from a stanzaic *Palamon and Arcite*, suppressed by Chaucer, and therefore to indicate that the *Troilus* followed that unhappy poem.⁵ But even if we believe

¹ In his *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* he does not commit himself as to the date, but discusses the poem between the *Parliament of Fowls* and the *House of Fame* (see Vol. II, pp. 89-90).

² *Chronology of Chaucer's Writings*, p. 36.

³ G. C. MACAULAY, *Complete Works of John Gower*, 1890, Vol. I, p. xliii.

⁴ *Id.*, Vol. IV, p. xxx.

⁵ *Studien*, p. 117.

such to have been the history of this passage, it cannot be used as evidence in this connection; for, as Koch¹ admits, it did not occur in the first version of the *Troilus*.

Thirdly, ten Brink,² followed more or less by Dr. Koch,³ Professor Pollard,⁴ and Professor Skeat,⁵ tries to show that the *Troilus* only shortly preceded the *House of Fame*; his arguments are two sets of parallel passages (*Troilus*, V, 358–85, and *House of Fame*, 2–55; I, 15–21, 512–18; II, 15–21, and *House of Fame*, 639, 640),⁶ and the supposition that the word “comedie” refers to the *House of Fame* in the well-known passage at the end of the *Troilus* (V, 1786–88):

Go, litel book, go litel myn tregedie,
Ther god thy maker yet, er that he dye,
So sende might to make in som comedie!

The words “tregedie” and “comedie” ten Brink assumes to be used in Dante’s sense, and points out resemblances between the *Divine Comedy* and the *House of Fame*. As to the parallel passages, their fewness and commonplaceness allows them little or no evidential value. That the word “comedie” indicates a prevision of the *House of Fame* is not impossible, it is true; but it must be remembered that Dante’s conception of comedy and tragedy is definitely set forth only in the tenth of his epistles (to Can Grande della Scala), which Chaucer is unlikely ever to have seen, and that the reference to a “comedie” may be naturally explained as a quite general aspiration after a cheery subject, in contrast to the woeful tale just finished.⁷ It must be remembered, also, that the grounds on which rests the currently received date of the *House of Fame* are, to say the least, precarious.

Fourthly, ten Brink⁸ believes that no long time elapsed between the writing of the *Troilus* and that of the *Legend of Good Women*. He remarks that in both Chaucer tries to shuffle off the responsibility for defaming Criseyde;⁹ and he suggests that

¹ *Chronology*, pp. 35, 36.

² *Studien*, pp. 120–22.

³ *Chronology*, p. 30.

⁴ *Chaucer Primer*, p. 83.

⁵ *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. III, p. xi.

⁶ On dreams, and on Chaucer’s own ill-fortune in love; in the latter connection ten Brink strangely refers also to II, 897–903.

⁷ As Professor Kittredge has pointed out to me.

⁸ *Studien*, pp. 118–20.

⁹ *Troilus*, II, 8–21; IV, 15–21; *Legend*, B 369–72 (A 349–52).

the occasion for the writing of the *Legend* may have been a recent revival by the *Troilus* of the ill-repute which Chaucer had long before earned by his translation of the *Romance of the Rose*. He even believes that Chaucer was meditating the *Legend* before he had finished the *Troilus*, and adduces two references to Alcestis in the earlier poem—V, 1527, and especially the lines (V, 1777, 1778):

And gladlier I wol wryten, if you leste,
Penelopees trouthe and good Alceste.

Of these three points there is certainly little or no weight in the first two; though the last is more striking, especially in connection with Chaucer's desire to produce "som comedye," it is far from carrying the conviction that he actually did write a cheerful poem about Alcestis shortly after writing the *Troilus*.

None of the arguments thus far considered can fairly be said to weaken a positive piece of evidence that the *Troilus* was written earlier than the earliest of the current dates. But two other arguments for a late date remain to be noticed.

The *Troilus* unquestionably belongs within Chaucer's so-called Italian period; this has usually been agreed¹ to date from his first journey to Italy, in 1373, but rather recently more than one attempt has been made to throw doubt on this date for its beginning. Mr. A. W. Pollard² suggests rather 1379, after Chaucer's second journey to Italy, mainly on the ground that the generally accepted chronology assigns the works which show Italian influence to a period later than this; he suggests further that, though during his first visit Chaucer may have learned to read a little Italian, he is less likely to have brought back Italian books than Latin, and that he was probably too poor to buy many of either. Dr. F. J. Mather in an important series of articles supports the same opinion. In a letter to the *Nation*³ he shows by a then unpublished account of Chaucer's expenses that the first journey lasted but 174 days (December 1, 1372, to May 23, 1373),⁴

¹ Since TEN BRINK's *Studien* appeared (cf. p. 39 of that work).

² *Academy*, Vol. XLII, p. 194; cf. *Globe Chaucer*, p. xxii. KOCH, in his review of the latter, strongly dissents (*Englische Studien*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1-4).

³ October 8, 1896 (Vol. LXIII, p. 269).

⁴ These dates, for Chaucer's accounts, however, not for his journey, had already been given by SWEAT, in 1894; cf. *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. xxiv, note.

instead of nearly a year, as had previously been supposed; and maintains that his actual stay in Italy, deducting the time necessary for the journeys to and from England, must have lasted something short of two months, which was further broken in upon by an expedition from Genoa to Florence. This, he thinks, reduces the time available for the king's business and Chaucer's own pleasure to little more than a month. He concludes that "it is of course possible that, in a visit of less than eight weeks, during which time he was engaged 'in secretis negotiis Regis,' he might have received the impulse that appears in his works only after the lapse of seven years and an intervening visit to Italy—it is possible, but it is also wholly improbable,"¹ that the interim was probably occupied by business and reading, and that the period 1369–79 was mostly lost to literary production. In *Modern Language Notes*,² shortly after, Dr. Mather published the document referred to, and repeated his arguments; in a note later in the same volume,³ it is true, he admits that he may have insisted too strongly on this contraction of the Italian period, but he still believes it to be justified.

To disregard for the moment the empirical argument, there are other grounds for doubting these conclusions. To begin with, if the first journey to Italy lasted only 174 days, the second lasted only 115⁴—it was shorter by almost two months; if Chaucer's first stay in Italy was too short to set him to studying its literature, how about the second? This suggests a second objection. Dr. Mather seems to allow far too much time for the journeys across the continent; it will suffice to say that, if two months⁵ were needed each way, on his second journey Chaucer never got

¹ DR. MATHER remarks that by previous scholars "the lack of any works showing Italian influence and written shortly after the first Italian journey, was made good by assigning *ad hoc* certain of the *Canterbury Tales* to this period."

² Vol. XI, coll. 419–25. The document has since been printed again in *Life Records of Chaucer*, pp. 183, 184 (Chaucer Society, 1900).

³ Coll. 510, 511.

⁴ May 28 to September 19, 1378. So SKEAT, Vol. I, p. xxxii; and MATHER himself, *Chaucer's Prologue, etc.*, p. vi. POLLARD seems to prolong the journey till early in 1379 (*Chaucer Primer*, p. 14), but the document on which he bases his opinion does not seem to bear the interpretation he places on it (*Life Records*, p. 221). For the document giving the duration of the second journey see *Life Records*, pp. 218, 219.

⁵ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XI, coll. 423, 424, and note.

to Milan at all. Therefore Chaucer probably had two and a half or three months in Italy the first time. Again, the possibility must be kept in mind that Professor Lounsbury¹ is right in suggesting that Chaucer was sent to Italy the first time because he already knew something of the language. It may be noted, too, that the third in Chaucer's party was "Johannes de Mari, a Genoese citizen,"² from whom a lively-minded man of thirty-two would have had every opportunity on so long a journey to learn something of the language of the country to which he was going. In a two or three months' stay, with his ready command of French and Latin and his keenness of intellect, Chaucer certainly could have gained some ability both to speak and to read Italian,³ if he cared to do so; and he is likely to have learned by hearsay enough of the great Trecentisti to have cared very much. Again, if he carried back manuscripts with him, there is no question that he could have found plenty of people in London to help him read them—at court, as Mr. Lounsbury suggests, or among Italian merchants, with whom he must have had to do at the custom-house. All this presupposes enthusiasm; but why not? Another objection to Dr. Mather's view is that it makes the blossoming of Chaucer's sweet new style amazingly sudden; his "six marvellous years," from 1379 to 1385, according to the current chronology are a little too marvelous for Dr. Mather's theory. And finally it would require very strong evidence to prove that Chaucer produced hardly a line⁴ between the ages of thirty and forty, and nearly thirty thousand between forty and sixty. On the whole, therefore, it is moderate to say that there is nothing against putting an Italianate poem before the second Italian journey. If we can find real reason for doing so, we may even make Chaucer chronology more rational.

The last argument for a late date that need be noticed is one which has been little dwelt on but which has probably had great influence—the length, excellence, and maturity of the *Troilus*; it

¹ Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* (Boston, 1877), p. 7.

² MATHER, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XI, col. 422, note; cf. *Life Records*, pp. 181, 182.

³ So KOCH, *Englische Studien*, Vol. XXVII, p. 2.

⁴ KOCH makes a similar objection (*id.*, p. 4). I do not forget that there was a somewhat similar lacuna in the poetic activity of Milton, Crabbe, and other poets.

seems difficult to believe that it was finished within three or four years of Chaucer's first visit to Italy and his first acquaintance with the works of Boccaccio. Certain considerations will perhaps weaken the force of this objection. Three or four years would be amply sufficient for the conception, meditation, planning, and execution of such a work; what a man can do at forty he can do at thirty-five or so; we must not suppose that in 1369, when Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, he was as immature a man as he was an artist, nor forget that under a keen stimulus the artist may have rapidly overtaken the man. Moreover, though this matter cannot be completely treated here, the insight and beauty of the *Troilus* does not conceal serious faults in its execution; it can hardly be denied that as a narrative the poem is much below most of the *Canterbury Tales*. But, with all deductions, this a priori argument against an early date for the *Troilus* must remain, not only weightier than any of the other arguments, but one which can be counterbalanced only by a strong piece of unequivocal evidence.

In Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*,¹ Sompnolent, one of the children of Sloth, is bored by church-going; he does not think of his prayers,

ainz bass la teste
Mettra tout suef sur l'eschamelle,
Et dort, et songe en sa cervelle
Qu'il est au bout de la tonelle.
U qu'il oit chanter,² la geste
De Troilus et de la belle
Cresseide, et ensi se concelle
A dieu d'y faire sa requeste.

The reference here, it can hardly be doubted, is to Chaucer's poem.³ In the first place, it is the only work known in the fourteenth century, I believe, except the *Filostrato*,⁴ in which the

¹ Ed. G. C. MACAULAY (Oxford, 1899); II. 5245-56.

² Cf. *Troilus*, V, 1797: "red wher-so thou be, or elles songe" (pointed out to me by Mr. Kittredge).

³ This fact is pointed out by DR. GEORGE L. HAMILTON, who draws no conclusion, however, as to the date of the *Troilus*; see his *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido* (New York, 1903), p. 136, note.

⁴ The French prose romance of *Troilus and Briseida*, a translation of the *Filostrato*, was written at the very end of the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century. See MOLAND

story of Troilus forms anything but an episode; and obviously the reference cannot be to the *Filostrato*. Secondly, it is the only English work before the end of the century which treats the story at all; the vogue of the story in England is due to Chaucer. Gower's reference has little point, unless it is to a well-known poem of considerable length on the subject of Troilus and Criseyde only; and the poem is most probably in English, for though Gower's poem is in French, he had England chiefly in mind. It may be urged that Chaucer's poem is hardly likely to have been popular among the class to which Sompnolent seems to belong; but Gower was not too good an artist to stretch probability in order to refer to a poem just written by his friend. Another indication that Chaucer's poem is meant is the fact that Gower spells the heroine's name with a *C*, though it is *Griseida* in Boccaccio and *Briseida* (or *Briseide*) in Benoit de S. Maur and Guido delle Colonne. It is true that continental documents occasionally have the form with a *C*, but such documents are mostly late.¹ We may conclude, then, that the probabilities are overwhelmingly in favor of the view that Gower is referring to Chaucer's poem.

The important question which remains, as to the date of the *Mirour*, has been answered by Mr. Macaulay with considerable exactness.² The poem contains no reference to the peasant rising of 1381, which produced so powerful an effect on Gower's mind; hence it was almost certainly finished before that time. Lines 2142-48 must have been written before June, 1377, when Edward III died, for they mention the rebellion of France against him

E D'HERICAULT, *Nouvelles françoises du 14^e siècle*, p. cl. The only pre-Chaucerian reference to Troilus which I have found outside the works which tell his story is in FROISSART'S *Paradyse d'Amour*, where he is mentioned among many other romantic lovers. See W. A. NEILSON, *Origins and Sources of the "Court of Love"* ("Harvard Studies and Notes"), Vol. VI, p. 79.

¹E. g., old printed editions of the *Filostrato* (W. HEETZBERG, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Vol. VI, p. 197). Perhaps by the influence of MSS of this poem, the name appears with a *G* or a *C* in some fifteenth century MSS of Guido; *C* also appears in Armannino's ante-Boccaccian and quite different version of the story of Troilus, and in some MSS of the late French prose romance already mentioned (see MOLAND ET D'HERICAULT, p. cxxxv). Cf. H. MORF, *Romania*, Vol. XXI, p. 101, and HAMILTON, work cited, pp. 134, 135. It is worth noting that only forms with a *B* occur in the "*Geste Historiale*" of the *Destruction of Troy* (ed. PANTON AND DONALDSON, *E. E. T. S.*, 1869; cf. II. 8029-38-68, etc.), translated, of course, from Guido; it refers to CHAUCER's *Troilus* (see 8033, 8054), and contains the second English account of Troilus.

²Pp. xlvi f.

who received the right to the French throne from his mother¹—which could not be said of Richard II. The same is probably true as to the date of ll. 22804–12 and their context, which treat at great length of royalty; no reference is made to a child-king (as in the *Vox Clamantis*), and the allusions to the misgovernment at the end of Edward III's reign, and in particular to the influence of Alice Perrers, are almost unmistakable.² So early a passage as that which mentions the *Troilus*, ll. 5245–56, can hardly have been written later than 1376. Therefore, unless it can be proved either that Gower's reference is not to Chaucer's poem, or that this portion of the *Mirour* was written later than is supposed,³ we must accept 1376 as the latest possible date for Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.⁴

II.

The question as to the date of the *Legend of Good Women* has always been seen to be more or less closely connected with the reference in the prologue to the queen (B 496, 497):

And whan this book is maad, yive hit the quene
On my behalfe, at Eltham, or at Shene.

¹"Ce duissoint savoir cils du France
Que dieus hiest la desobeissance,
De ce q'encontre leur ligance
Chascun par guerre se defent
De faire hommage et obeissance
A celluy qui de sa nescience
Le droit depar sa mere prent."

²"Ore voit om Roy tous ceaux hafr
Qui voir diont, mais qui blandir
Luy vuillont, cils serront manant.
Voir dist qui dist femme est puissant,
Et ce voit om du meintenant:
Dieus pense de les mals guarir,
Q'as toutes loys est discordant,
Qe femme en terre soit regnant
Et Rois soubgit pour luy servir."

³The allusion in ll. 18817–40 to the Great Schism, which began in 1378, must be regarded as a later addition, which, as Mr. Macaulay suggests, it has rather the appearance of being.

⁴There is some confirmation for an early date in the fact that Lydgate more clearly indicates the earliness of the *Troilus* than that of any other of Chaucer's works, even the *Ceyx and Aleyone*. In the *Troy Book* he mentions the poem as one "which he made longe or that he deyde" (see ROSETTI'S *Troilus and Criseyde and the Filostrato*, Chaucer Society, Introd., p. x, l. 15); and in the *Falls of Princes* he mentions the work as having been written "in youthe" and "long or that he [ye] deyde" (see *Chaucer's Works*, ed. RICHARD MORRIS [London, 1891], Vol. I, p. 79). If there is anything in the suggestion, first made by

Tyrwhitt¹ pointed out that we must therefore date the poem not earlier than 1382, when Richard II married Anne of Bohemia. But the more exact date which has since been universally accepted was proposed by ten Brink² in 1870. First he identifies the queen with Alcestis; then, "in Alcestens auftrag," he says,³ "gibt Chaucer die legende zu schreiben vor; er schrieb sie aber im auftrag der königin." "Eine königin," he continues, "gibt einen derartigen auftrag nicht, ohne eine andere gunst beizeigung damit zu verbinden;"⁴ in the *House of Fame* (641-60), which he places shortly before the *Legend*, he finds a complaint over want of consideration and especially of leisure, therefore "die königin konnte Chaucer kein willkommneres zeichen ihrer gunst schenken, in ihm den dichter nicht besser ehren, als indem sie ihm die ersehnte musse verschaffte."⁵ That she actually did this he thinks is indicated by Alcestis's command that so long as he lives Chaucer shall spend the greater part of his time on a glorious legend, a charge which obviously implies some leisure; therefore we may suppose that the permission, granted February 17, 1385, to exercise through a deputy his comptrollership of customs and subsidies was gained by the mediation of the queen, and that the *Legend of Good Women* was produced during the years 1385-86. This view has been accepted, though sometimes with hesitation, by everybody (I believe) who has expressed himself in print on the subject; by Dr. Furnivall⁶ (doubtfully) in 1871, by Dr. Koch⁷ in 1890, by Professor Skeat⁸ in 1894 and earlier, by Dr. F. J. Mather⁹ in 1899 (doubtfully),

Tyrwhitt, that Chaucer constantly confused Boccaccio and Petrarch (cf. *Monk's Tale*, B 3515, 3516, and HAMILTON, *op. cit.*, p. 146, note), and by "Lollius" meant the latter, we may conjecture that the reverential way in which he refers to Petrarch in the *Clerk's* and *Monk's Tales* indicates that he had learned more of Petrarch's reputation on his second visit to Italy; and that his suppression of his Italian authority in the *Troilus* indicates that the poem was written before that visit.

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, (ed. 1830), Vol. I, p. clxi, note.

² *Chaucer-Studien*, pp. 147-50; his conclusion is repeated, more positively, in his *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (1863), Vol. II, pp. 111, 112.

³ P. 147.

⁴ P. 148.

⁵ P. 149.

⁶ *Trial Forewords* (Chaucer Society), p. 25 (at least he accepts the date).

⁷ *Chronology of Chaucer's Writings* (Chaucer Society), pp. 44, 45.

⁸ *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. III, p. xix.

⁹ *The Prologue, etc.* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899), p. xxiii.

and by Professor Pollard¹ in 1901. In one of the last articles he ever wrote,² ten Brink kept this date for the first version of the prologue and for the legends.

Considering the ingenuity here shown and the lack of further light on the date of the poem, it is perhaps not surprising that the theory has found such favor. But, with all respect for the scholar who originated it and for those who have passed it on, I shall try to show, not only that it has no sufficient basis, but also that it is opposed by a new and almost decisive piece of evidence.

In the first place, almost every step in ten Brink's reasoning is a step in the dark; hardly one of his arguments carries conviction, though each is essential; the whole forms a pleasant fancy, which should exercise no compulsion over the intellect. We are by no means justified in inferring from the command of Alcestis —though we may agree that at least in version B of the prologue she is to be identified with the queen—that the latter had charged Chaucer to write the poem; this would be to force a by no means perfectly consistent allegory. Again, complimentary poems addressed to the powerful are quite as apt to express prophetic as retrospective gratitude. Worst of all, ten Brink does great violence to the passage in the *House of Fame*. Jupiter takes very kindly, according to the eagle, Chaucer's disinterested celebration of Love:

Joves halt hit greet humblesse
And vertu eek, that thou wolt make
A-night ful ofte thyn heed to ale,
In thy studie so thou wrytest,
And ever-mo of love endytest.
* * * * *

Wherfor, as I seyde, y-wis,
Jupiter considereth this,
And also, beau sir, other thinges;
That is, that thou hast no tydinges
Of Love's folk, if they be glade,
Ne of noght elles that god made;
And noght only fro fer contree
That ther no tyding comth to thee,
But of thy verray neyghebores,

¹ *The Globe Chaucer*, p. xlvi; cf. *Chaucer Primer* (1883), pp. 95, 96.

² *Englische Studien*, Vol. XVII, p. 19.

That dwellen almost at thy dores,
 Thou herest neither that ne this;
 For whan thy labour doon al is,
 And hast y-maad thy rekeninges,
 In stede of reste and newe thinges,
 Thou gost hoom to thy hous anoon;
 And, also domb as any stoon,
 Thou sittest at another boke,
 Til fully daswed is thy loke,
 And livest thus as an hermyte,
 Although thyng abstinence is lyte.¹

The eagle therefore does not commiserate Chaucer on his custom-house labors and Chaucer gives no hint that they were particularly irksome. What the eagle does is to banter him on his book-worm habits at home, which are dwelt on almost as much in the *Legend of Good Women*.² It must not be forgotten that all this part of the *House of Fame* is in very light vein, and may well be full of irony and exaggeration. Ten Brink's final step is hardly less questionable; Alcestis's charge that Chaucer shall spend the greater part of his time on the *Legend* is natural enough in any case at the beginning of a long series of poems; we do not know what new duties may have been assigned to him at the time when he was allowed the deputy, and at best ten Brink's deduction is a little forced. All this will perhaps suffice to show that the connection between the *Legend of Good Women* and the official relief of 1385 is very fanciful inference; it will be completely disposed of if we can show that the queen had nothing to do with the permission to appoint a deputy.

In the *Life-Records of Chaucer*, the publication of which by the Chaucer Society was completed in 1900, is printed³ from the Chancery Warrants a petition on this subject, with the date (supplied by the editor) February, 1385, and the encouraging caption "Le Roy lad grante." The petition runs as follows:

Plese a nostre sieur le Roy granter a Geffroy Chaucer, qil puisse avoir suffisant deputee en l'office de Comptrolour a le Wolkee de Londres, tiel pur qil le dit Geffray voet responder, durant le terme qe le dit Geffray soit Comptrolour de la Custume nostre dit Sieur en le Port suisdicte.

Oxon.*

¹ Ll. 630-34; 641-60.

² Cf. ll. 29-39.

³ P. 231. The editor of this part of the work is R. E. G. KIRK, Esq.

In a note the editor states the last word to be the "signature of the ninth Earl of Oxford, with an asterisk. He appears also to have written the words 'Le Roy lad grante,' at the head. Selby refers to Doyle's *Official Baronage*, II, 733. He did not consider this petition to be in Chaucer's handwriting. It is in an ordinary Chancery clerk's hand." A few days later—directly from the king, it would seem—came permission¹ to Chaucer to have a deputy as long as he should hold the office; this document ends "Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij. die Februarii. Per ipsum Regem," though Chaucer's commissions in 1382 came through a subordinate official.²

Robert de Vere,³ ninth earl of Oxford, was born in 1362, and in 1385 was therefore twenty-three years of age; during the summer of that year, in a position of strong influence, he accompanied the king to Scotland, and later in the year was created Marquis of Dublin, with unprecedented powers. Froissart⁴ refers to him during this year as "li contes d'Asquesufort, qui estoit pour le temps tous li coers dou roy." In 1385 he was therefore at the height of his fatal intimacy with the king; he clearly had no official connection with Chancery.

There is no avoiding the conclusion, therefore, that it was the Earl of Oxford who was Chaucer's sponsor in the matter of the deputy. To judge from Mr. Kirk's note, he not only signed the petition but took it in person to the king, who in consequence may have taken an especial interest in the affair. Hence it seems impossible to connect the queen with the appointment of the deputy; and with that connection disappears all clear relation between the *Legend of Good Women* and the date 1385.

If this is so, the *Legend*, on which Chaucer chronology so largely depends, is afloat once more between 1382 and 1394, the

¹ *Life-Records*, p. 251.

² Cf. pp. 236, 237. But his month's leave of absence in 1384 came "Per ipsum Regem" (p. 250).

³ See JAMES TAIT, in the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 243, 244; H. WALLON, *Richard II* (Paris, 1864), Vol. I, pp. 245, 252-54, 267; DUGDALE, *Baronage of England* (1675), Vol. I, pp. 194-96; J. E. DOYLE, *Official Baronage of England*, Vol. II, pp. 728, 729.

⁴ Ed. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE (Bruxelles, 1870), Vol. X, p. 397; cf. Vol. XI, pp. 6, 135, 369.

dates of the marriage and of the death¹ of Queen Anne. But there are probably still good grounds, which cannot be discussed here, for believing that its date is not very far from 1385.

If these changed views as to the dates of the *Troilus* and of the *Legend of Good Women* are justifiable, they involve some revision of Chaucer chronology in general. As to this I hope to make some suggestions on a later occasion.

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¹ June 7; see H. WALLON, *Richard II*, Vol. II, p. 81.

THE DEPARTING OF CHAUCER.

THE TEXT.

BRIT. MUS. ADDIT. 16165 is a quarto, paper, of 258 pages. On the recto of the first leaf is written, large, *ma ioye*, and below, very large, *Shirley*. Pages 2 and 3 contain a versified table of contents to be printed in full with my description and discussion of the "Shirley" manuscripts. The codex comprises about twenty-three numbers—*Boece*, Trevisa's *Nicodemus*, a prose *Book of Hunting*, Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*, his *Temple of Glass*, Chaucer's *Anelida* in two parts, the *Complaint* as No. 1, the remainder at the end of the MS, several short proverbial bits, and from No. 14 to No. 20 short poems by Lydgate, ascribed to him in their headings. No. 14 is an invocation to St. Anne, also found in the Shirley MS Ashmole 59; No. 15 is the text here printed; No. 16 is a poem in four-beat lines, arranged in fifteen stanzas of eight lines each, and beginning "Euery maner creature." This is headed in the MS, "Amerous balade by Lydegate made pe departing of Thomas Chauciers on pe kynges ambassade to ffraunce." It appears also in the Shirley MS Ashmole 59, where it follows the invocation to St. Anne, and in the Stow MS Harley 367, the heading of which latter more nearly resembles that of Ashmole than that of 16165. It is not apparent from the text of this "amerous balade" that it had any connection with Thomas Chaucer, although it is a lament for enforced absence from the beloved. No. 16a in the 16165 codex is a "devynaile par yeard" of the name of the lady addressed in the "amerous balade;" No. 17 is also in Ashmole, there following directly upon the "amerous balade;" so that Nos. 21, 22, and 23 of the Ashmole codex are Nos. 14, 16, and 17 of the MS 16165. Owing to the special carelessness and derivative character of the Ashmole codex—a fact which I hope to demonstrate more fully later—the poem No. 16, as copied in 16165, possesses more value for

students; but its connection with the name of Thomas Chaucer is not clear to us, while No. 15, that printed below, has a very definite interest for students of fifteenth-century history.

THE POEM.

From Rymer's *Foedera* it appears that Thomas Chaucer was in 1417 one of several ambassadors authorized to treat for peace with France; the power is dated October 1; this is probably the "ambassade" mentioned by Shirley, and the date of the poem therefore is fairly certain. Other royal or important commissions laid upon Chaucer—those of June 14, 1414, and of March 24, 1405—do not seem to have taken him out of England; but on November 28, 1417, he was still negotiating, in Berneville, the business upon which he was sent in October of that year.

The shire whose residents are called upon by Lydgate to bewail the absence of Chaucer was probably Norfolk, where Chaucer owned the "embattled" manor-house of Gresham. This appears likely from the mention of "gentyl Molyns." The manor of Gresham, as Mr. Gairdner has explained in his preface to the *Paston Letters*, was under Edward II the property of one Edmund Bacon, and descended from him to his two daughters, Margaret and Margery. The former married Sir William de Kerdeston, and her rights were inherited by her daughter Maud, who married Sir John Burghersh, and by the daughter of these two, Maud Burghersh, who became the wife of Thomas Chaucer, and carried to him the moiety of the estate which was hers by descent. The other half of the Gresham estate, the property of Margery Bacon, passed to her husband, Sir William Molynes; but, as he died before her, the property was by her willed to be sold, the prior right to purchase being given to William, son of Robert Molynes. He at first declined to buy, and his later attempt to complete the purchase came to nothing. Thomas Chaucer then bought the other moiety of the estate, and later conveyed it entire to William Paston. The subsequent struggle between the houses of Paston and Molynes for the possession of Gresham is fully described by Mr. Gairdner in his Introduction, as cited. It will appear likely,

however, from the family connection just sketched, that a son of the house of Molynes was a very natural inmate of the home of Thomas Chaucer, and that the manor of Gresham, as the place of common interest to both Molynes and Chaucer, is probably meant here. Further, this Norfolk manor was not far removed from the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, where Lydgate spent most of his life; and the terms upon which this poem makes it apparent that he stood with the rich and respected Thomas Chaucer give an additional proof of the estimation in which the poet was held in his own time. The internal evidence goes to confirm the poem as Lydgate's, over and above the ascription of the verses to him by his contemporary Shirley; the style, the allusion to "Bacus' lykour," the catch-phrases, the vocabulary, are all Lydgatian. In view of the now general assumption that Thomas was the son of Geoffrey Chaucer, we may feel a little surprise that so ardent an admirer of the poet as Lydgate did not on this occasion allude to a connection of which his patron Chaucer was presumably not ashamed; but the circumstances are, of course, not fully known to us.

It may be added in closing that the last line of the first stanza shows that Lydgate did upon occasion apply the term "master" to someone other than Geoffrey Chaucer. The early date, earlier than Chaucer's death in 1400, to which Professor Schick assigns *The Churl and the Bird* because of the reference to "my master" in the concluding stanza, becomes therefore somewhat dubious.

Brit. Mus. MS Addit. 16165, pp. 248, 249. Owned and written by John Shirley, ob. 1456. Headed in his hand—

"BALADE MADE BY LYDEGATE AT PE DEPARTYNG OF THOMAS CHAUCER
ON AMBASSADE IN TO FFRAUNCE"

(1)

O pow *lucyna* | qwene and Empyresse
Of waters alle | and of floodes rage
And cleped art | lady and goddesse
Of Iorneyng | and fortunate passage
Governe and guye | by grace be vyage

Powe heuenly queene | sith I of hert pray
My maystre¹ *Chaucyer* | goodely to convey

(2)

Him to expleyten | and firþerne on his way
With holsome spedē | ay in his Iournee
And *neptunus* | make eke no delaye
Him to favour | whane he is on þe see
Preserving him | frome al adversytee
ffrome al trouble | of wynde and eke of wawe
And lat þy grace | so to him adawe

(3)

Pat wher to hym | may beo moost plesaunce
Per make him londe | he and his meyneē
And god I prey | þe whyle he is [in]² ffraunce
To sende him helthe | and prosparytee
Hasty repayre | hoome to his cuntree
To recomfort | þer with his presence
ffolkys pat mowrне | moost for his absence

(4)

ffor souely nowe | þagreable sonne
Of housholding | and fulsum haboundaunce
Eclipsid is | as men recorden konne
Pat founden þer | so ryche souffisaunce
ffredam bountee | with gode governaunce
Disport largesse | joye and al gladnesse
And passingly | goode chere with gentylesse

(5)

Ceres³ also | goddesse of welfare
Was ay present | hir chaare with plentee lade
And *Bacuſ* þer | ne koude never spare
With his lykour | hertes for to glade
Refresshe folkis | rat were of colour fade
With⁴ his conduytes | moost plentyvous habonde
Pe wellis hed | so fulsome ay is founde

(6)

His moost Ioye | is Innly gret repayre
Of gentilmen | of heghe and lowe estate

¹ On margin, in scribe's hand, is written *Thomas*.² Not in MS.³ MS *Certes*.⁴ Read *Wher*?

Pat him thenkeþ | boþe in foule and fayne
 Withouten hem | he is but desolate
 And to be loued | þe moost fortunate
 Pat ever I knewe | with oþe of soþfastnesse
 Of ryche and pore | for bounteuouse largesse

(7)

And gentyl *Molyns* | myn owen lord so der
 Lytel merveyle | ȝouȝhe now sighe and pleyne
 Now to forgone | þin owen pleying feere
 I wot right wel | hit is to þe gret peyne
 But haue good hope | soone for to atteyne
 Pin hertis blisse | agayne and rat right sone
 Or foure tymes | echaunged be þe Mone.

(8)¹

Lat be youre weping | tendre creature
By my sainte Eleyne | fer away in Ynde
 How shoule ye | þe gret woo endure
 Of his absence | þat beon so truwe and kynde
 Hape him amonȝe | enprynted in your mynde
 And seythe for him | shortly in a clause
 Goddes soule to hem | þat beon in cause

(9)

Ye gentilmen | dwelling envyroun
 His absence eke | ye aught to compleyne
 ffor farewell nowe | as in conclusyoun
 Youre pleye | your Ioye | yif I shal not feyne
 ffarwel huntyng | and hawkyngh boþe tweyne
 And farewel nowe | cheef cause of your despert
 ffor he absent | farewel youre recomfort

(10)

Late him not nowe | out of remembraunce
 But ever amonȝe | hate him in memoyre
 And for his saake | as in youre dalyaunce
 Saythe every day | deuotely þis memoyre
 Saynt Iulyan | oure Ioye and al oure gloure
 Come hoome ageyne | lyche as we desyre
 To suppowaylen al þe hole shyre

¹ On margin by this stanza, in Shirley's hand, is written *La feme Chauciers*.

(11)

And for my part | I sey right as I thenk
I am pure sory | and hevy in myn hert
More þan I | expresse can' with Inke
De want of him | so sore doþe me smert
But for al þat | hit shal me nouȝt astert
Daye and night | with hert debonayre
And prey to god | þat he soone may repayre

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¹ On margin is a caret and *wryte*.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF ITALIAN *GREGGIO*, *GREZZO*.

THE most recent detailed study of the Italian word appearing in the forms *greggio* and *grezzo* is D' Ovidio's extended discussion in *Romania*, Vol. XXV, pp. 295 ff. This scholar agrees with Fumi¹ in rejecting the etymon *agrestis*² suggested by Caix³ and likewise the type **gregius* set up by Canello.⁴ The etymon **ἀγριόκος*[!] proposed by Roensch⁵ appears never to have been taken very seriously. The type which D' Ovidio accepts as the probable etymon, namely **grēvius*, was first suggested by Fumi, who, however, was not able to explain the phonetic irregularities which the assumption of such an etymon involves. D' Ovidio attempts to overcome the difficulties by assuming that the word came into Tuscan from Venetian territory. According to him, by the side of **levius* (>*leggio*) for *levis*, a form **grēvius* for **grevis* may have existed in colloquial Latin. Then just as *pluvia* gave in Venetian *pioza* (nowadays *piova*), so **grēvius* may have given **grezo*. The *e* in this word would probably have been close, according to D' Ovidio, as in Venetian *greve* and *grue greva*. The meaning of *greggio*, *grezzo* is "rough, unworked." Since, during the Middle Ages, the Venetians excelled in the various arts, it is possible that this word **grezo* came into common use among them as a technical term and was borrowed as such by Tuscans. Assuming this introduction of the word into Tuscany, it may also be assumed, according to D' Ovidio, that some Tuscans would accept **grezo* in the form *grezzo*, while others would substitute for the Venetian *z* the group which usually represents this Venetian sound in Tuscan, *i. e.*, *gj* (cf. Venetian *mazor*, *pezo*, etc.).

This etymon **grēvius* is the only one thus far proposed merit-ing serious consideration now, since *agrestis* and **gregius* have

¹ *Misc. Caix-Canello*, pp. 99 ff.

² This etymon is also rejected by PARIS (*Romania*, Vol. VIII, p. 618).

³ *Studia di etimologia italiana e romanica*, § 39.

⁴ *Archivio glottologico*, Vol. III, p. 348.

⁵ *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. III, p. 372.

already been disposed of by Paris and Fumi.¹ Now, *gr̄evius*, notwithstanding D' Ovidio's argumentation, still presents great difficulties. In the first place, we may, of course, doubt whether the word ever existed; but admitting the possibility of its existence, it may again be doubted whether it would have developed into **grezo* in the dialect of Venice, since D' Ovidio gives only one word showing the development *vy* > *z*, and in that very case the modern dialect shows not *z*, but *v*. Admitting, however, again that in this assumed word the development *vy* > *z* may actually have taken place in Venice, it is difficult to suppose that the word passed from Venetian into Tuscan in both Venetian and Tuscanized form, so as to give both *grezzo* and *greggio* in Tuscan. For this last assumption not a single parallel is cited. And, above all, why go to Venice to find an explanation for word-forms which, according to all manifest probabilities, originated in Tuscany? Taken all together, these objections are certainly serious. D' Ovidio, it should be said, is quite aware of the weak points in his theory, and claims only to have established a probability in favor of **gr̄evius*. Körting, who discusses the Fumi-D' Ovidio theory under the word *agrestis*,² reaches the following result: "Aber auch Fumi's annahme hat keineswegs die wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, und die ableitung des wortes muss als noch fraglich bezeichnet werden, wie das schon Diez 377 gethan hatte."

It is thus quite in place to suggest a new etymon. Thus far etymologists, taking the meaning of the Italian word as their starting-point, have looked for an etymon meaning something like "rough." Having found or invented an ancient word giving approximately the right meaning, they have been constrained to assume an unparalleled development of one or another consonant-group in order to explain the phonetic relation of the Italian word to the etymon proposed. I believe that a start taken from the form of the Italian word leads to better results. The consonants *zz* beside *jj* almost certainly presuppose an ancient word in *dy* (cf. *ražžo* beside *raggio* < *radium*, *mežžo* < *medium*, *rožžo* < **rodium*, beside *moggio* < *modium*, *poggio* < *podium*, etc.). No other

¹ The etymon *gregeo* (Old French), suggested by PETROCCHI in his *Dizionario scolastico*, presents insuperable phonetic difficulties.

² The Italian words are missing in Körting's index.

combination unquestionably giving both *gg* and *zz* in Tuscan has ever been cited. We should certainly look first of all for an ancient **gredius*, the development of which into both *greggio* and *grezzo* would not present the slightest phonetic difficulty. Now **gredius* is not attested, but a very near neighbor, namely *gerdium*, is found. It occurs in Lucilius apud Nonium Marcellum 118, 10, and in Julius Firmicus Maternus 8, 25 *med.* This word *gerdium*, which is given as meaning "weaver," is the Latin form of the Greek *γέρδιος*. The citation from Lucilius points to a very early borrowing, so that we are obliged to assume that the *e* of the Latin word was close, as was the Greek *ε* in early times. The passage from *gerdium* to **gredius* of course offers a slight difficulty, but is rendered probable enough by parallels such as Provençal *tresol* beside *tersol* < *tertiolus*, Italian *troppo*, French *trop*, probably going back to *porp*, Italian dialectic *trevetino* beside *tever-tino* < *tiburtinus*, Old French *troubler* beside *tourbler* < *turbulare*, Old French *trousseau* beside *torseau*, Italian *torsello*, French *treuil* beside Italian *torchio* < *torculum*, Spanish *trujal* < *torcular*. I cite these few examples from Körting, and refer for others to Meyer-Lübke,¹ who expressly remarks: "Namentlich stark ausgeprägt ist die Tendenz *r* mit dem anlautenden konsonanten zu verbinden." The closest parallel among the examples cited by Meyer-Lübke is that of *crovus* for *corvus*, occurring in western upper Italy and in Sicily. I have not been able to find any parallel showing an *r* passing over to an initial *g*; but this is not surprising in view of the fact that the number of words presenting an initial *g* followed by vowel + *r* is comparatively small. Moreover, parallels of this type, if existing, would be etymologically obscure on account of the metathesis, and for that reason could not readily be located. A possible physiological cause for the shift from *gerdium* to **gredius* is not far to seek: when non-syllabic *i* became *y*, the group *erdy* was doubtless unique and difficult to pronounce, so that the shift to the easily articulated *gredy* might well be expected.

I now turn to the semasiological development of *gerdium*. Since, as has been said, the Latin word is attested twice appar-

¹ *Rom. Gram.*, Vol. I, p. 481.

ently in the meaning of "weaver," while the Italian word is an adjective meaning "rough, unworked," the shift in sense which must be assumed appears to present considerable difficulty. A reference to the dictionary shows, however, that the Italian word is commonly used in phrases which immediately suggest an ancient connection in sense with a word meaning something like "weaver." Petrocchi's article on the Italian word reads as follows:

Grèggio,¹ *grezzo*, aggettivo. La materia delle diverse arti prima che sia lavorata. Come sono estratti dalle miniere. *Legno*, *Lana*, *Lino*, *Canapa gregge*: prima che sian lavorate. *Seta greggia*: adoprata come esce dalla filanda e collo stesso colore. *Tela greggia*: di lino grigiastra, piuttosto ruvida. *Ragazzi*, *Animi*, *Menti greggi*: non ancora educati, istruiti.

It is quite easy to derive all these meanings from the fundamental notion of "pertaining to the weaver." We have only to postulate the series: (1) "weaver's," (2) "fresh-woven," (3) "rough and untrimmed" (of cloth), (4) "rough and unworked" (of other materials). If Forcellini is right in assuming that the Latin word meant "carder" rather than "weaver," we may modify the scheme as follows: (1) "carder's," (2) "for the carder," i. e., "rough" (of the various materials which are carded, such as wool, flax, etc.), (3) "rough, unworked" (of other materials like silk, wood, minerals). The only point presenting difficulty is the shift from the value "weaver" or "carder" to the value "weaver's" or "carder's." We might perhaps assume that the noun *greggio* = "weaver" or "carder," going out of use in prehistoric Italian except in phrases like *tela a greggio* or *lana a greggio*, phonetically *telagreggio*, *lanagreggio*, came to be felt as an adjective, whence *tela greggia*, *lana greggia*. It seems probable, however, that the adjectival use of Italian *greggio* has a more ancient origin, going back to an adjectival use of the Greek and Latin words. The etymology and original meaning of γέρδεος are not apparent, but Du Cange cites a gloss defining it with the words ίνφάντρια, ίνφαντής, proving that it was feminine as well as masculine. It thus shows resemblance in form to the class of adjectives

¹ Petrocchi is certainly wrong in marking the *e* of *greggio* as open, since D' Ovidio (article cited, p. 296) states that "[*greggio*] ha l'*e* in tutta Toscana e su ogni labbro italiano che non sia inetto a distinguere i due suoni dell'*e*."

which may be declined with either two or three endings. Moreover, the collateral forms *γερδίσ*, *γερδάιος*, *γερδέιος* must constitute with *γέρδιος* an adjectival group. Adjective doublets like *ἄγριος* and *ἀγρεῖος* from *ἄγρος*, *Βάκχειος* (*Βακχέιος*) and *Βάκχιος* from *Βάκχος*, *δούλιος* and *δούλειος* from *δοῦλος*, *θαλάσσιος* and *θαλασσαῖος* from *θάλασσα*, may be seen on every other page of the lexicon, and even triplets like *λοχεῖος*, *λοχαῖος*, and *λόχιος* from *λόχος* *νυμφεῖος*, *νυμφαῖος*, and *νύμφιος* from *νύμφη*, are not extremely uncommon. Since a similar formation of original nouns is out of the question, we must place the group *γέρδιος*, *γερδίσ*, *γερδέιος*, *γερδάιος* in the same category, in spite of the fact that they are attested as substantives only. It is thus clear that *γέρδιος*—meagerly attested in both Greek and Latin in the meaning of “weaver,” was originally an adjective (meaning¹ probably “pertaining to the web,” or “pertaining to the card”); and it may

¹ Forms of *γέρδιος* are not given by the ordinary lexicons; they occur almost exclusively in glosses. The forms given in Hesychius and Suidas, in SOPHOCLES's *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, in the *Middle Latin and Middle Greek Lexicons* of DU CANGE, in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, in JOHANNES MEURSIUS's *Lexicon Graeco-barbarum* (Greek-Latin dictionary, Sugduni Batavorum, anno C.I.O.I.C.XIV.), and in STEPHANUS's *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, which have been sent to me by my friends Dr. J. C. Watson, of Cornell University, and Mr. E. Cary, Fellow in Harvard University, are as follows: γέρδης, γέρδος, γερδίος, γερδέος, all defined as meaning ὑφάντης, *textor*; γέρδιος = ὑφάντια, ὑφάντης; γέρδια = *textrices*; γερδίου = *textrices*; γερδωνίος (for γερδωνίος?) = *textrinum*; συγγέρδια = συνυφάντραι; γερδιάνεις. With regard to the etymology of *γέρδος*, Stephanus notes: “Secundum Schneid. est ab Aeolico *iplo* pro *īpyw*;” but this derivation is obviously objectionable. Forcellini s. v. says: “Ipsa certe vox peregrina est: videtur enim esse a Chald. *garday* quod vulgo vertitur *textor*; sed cum Hebr. *garad* significet *decorticavit*, vero [sic!] simile est interpretandum esse carminatorem, Italice *cardatore*, a carduis nemeo quibus in carminando uititur.” This view of the origin of *γέρδος* is mentioned and rejected by the editor of the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, who accepts the derivation of the Semitic group from the Greek. The Semitic forms, for which I am indebted to Mr. Cary, are as follows: Chaldaic *garday* = “weaver;” Hebrew *garad* = “decorticavit” (ἀπελεγύνειν occurring in the Book of Job); Syriac *gardā* = “glaber, tela, textura, iugum textoris (loom-beam),” *gardyāyā* = “textor;” *grad* = “erasit, scalpsit, delevit;” Modern Syriac *jreddā* = “carpet woven on a frame,” *jerdī* = “the frame for weaving carpets” and “the carpets themselves.” (Lexicons: J. LEVY, *Chaldaisches Wörterbuch*, etc., Leipzig, 1867; *Thesaurus Syriacus* editid R. P. SMITH, Oxford, 1879; J. BRUN, *Dictionaryum Syriaco-Latinum, Beryti Phoeniciorum*, 1895; A. J. MACLEAN, *A Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac*, etc., Oxford, 1901.) Whatever be the ultimate relation of the Greek to the Semitic group, it is clear that the attested Greek secondary forms must be derived from primary forms which went out of use or accidentally escaped registration. The gloss *γερδωνίος* = *textrinum*, which has been emended to *γερδωνίος* = *textrinum* (the Latin word being used in the sense of *textrina*, as elsewhere), however it be taken, seems to presuppose a primary word **γέρδος* meaning “web.” The Syriac *gardā* = *tela* also deserves notice. On the other hand, Lucilius, as Meursius (s. v.) pointed out, differentiates *textor* and *gerdius* in the passage: “eurate domi sint Gerdius ancillae pueri zonarius *textor*.” This, of course, supports Forcellini's view that *gerdius* meant “carder.” Possibly we should also assume a word **γέρδη* = “card,” “teasel,” from which all the forms except *γερδωνίος* may be derived. One might be tempted to identify the base of *γέρδος* with that of *κείω*, “to clip.” Note that the latter is supposed to be cognate

have remained long in use in this adjectival sense in both ancient languages. The postulation of the coexistence of the assumed adjectival value with the attested substantival value presents no difficulty: cf. *μουσικός*, "musical" and also "scholar;" and *consularis*, "pertaining to the consul" and also "ex-consul." Similar parallels might be cited in great abundance from both Greek and Latin.

Summing up, it may be said that phonetic law unequivocally requires the etymon **gredius*, the derivation of which from *gerdius* = *γέρδιος* presents virtually no phonetic difficulty. A semasiological obstacle is the circumstance that the ancient word is attested as a substantive only, while the Italian word is an adjective. In view of the fact, however, that the ancient word is of rare occurrence in both Latin and Greek, while the Greek word is shown by its formation to have been originally, at least, an adjective, the assumption of an adjectival value for the Greek-Latin substratum certainly seems to be justified. But whether the apparent shift from the value of "weaver" to that of "weaver's" should be explained in this or in some other way, the assumed change of function is, after all, hardly violent enough to present material difficulty.

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with Latin *cāro*, "to card;" *carduus*, "thistle." For the γ, cf. *γαυχέσ* from *κάμητε*. At all hazards, it is probable that γέρδος meant originally "pertaining to the web" or "pertaining to the card." The difference between these values and "pertaining to the weaver," "pertaining to the carder," is so slight that it may be overlooked, particularly since the sense of the Italian word may be readily derived from either member of either pair.

CAXTON'S OLD ENGLISH WORDS.

THE remark on p. 9 of the article on "References to the English Language in German Literature," published in the first number of MODERN PHILOLOGY, requires some modification. Leland, as well as the Cologne edition of Bede, is preceded by Caxton who, in chap. 50 of the first book of Trevisa's Higden, *De legibus legumque vocabulis*, gives the first old English words printed in England. The form in which these words appear is, of course, the Middle English of Trevisa's time in corrupted orthography, and so one might still be inclined to hesitate as to the honor of Caxton's precedence. The following is a transcript of the essential part of this chapter:

[Transcribed from copy in Bodleian Library, G. Selden, d. 7. Oxford University, July 21, 1903.]

¶ De Legibus legum q; vocabulis. ¶ Capitulum 50

..... I holde it wel don to wryte here and² expowne many ter- l mes of these lawes . Myndebruche . hurtynge of honour and wor- l fhip . In frenffshe bleschur dhonour . Burchbruch in frenffhe ble- l schur de court on de cloys . Gritchbruch brekyng of pees . Myfken l nyng chaungyng of speche in court . Shewyng fettynge forth of l marchandyse . In frenffshe displeir de marchandyse . Hamfokne . or l hamfare a refe made in hows . Forftallyng , wronge or lete doun l in the kynges hye waye . Frythfoken fewrte in defence . Saka , for l fait Soka Sute of courte . and therof cometh foken . Theam fute l of bondmen . Fyghtingtwyte . Amersement for fightyng . Blode- l wyte . Mersement for shedyng of blode . Flyt wite . amedes for she- l dynge of blode . leyr wyte . amedes for lyeng by a bondewoman , l Gulte wite amedes for trefpas . Scot a gadryng to werke of bai l lies , hydage tayllage for hydes of londes Danegheld tayllage l yeuen to the danes that was of every bonata terre that is every l Oxe londe thre pens . A weepentack and an honderd is al one l

¶ For the contre of C townes were woonte to gyne vp wepen in l the comyng of a lord² . Leftage custome y chalengyd² in chepyn- l gys and fayres stallage custome for stondynge in stretes in feyre tyme.

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NEGLECTED SOURCE OF CORNEILLE'S HORACE.

In *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XV, coll. 283-303, I have brought conclusive evidence showing that in the composition of his tragedy *La mort de Pompée* Corneille was indebted to Amyot's translation of Plutarch, though Amyot's name was not mentioned by him.

A similar indebtedness exists for *Horace*. Here the first editions of the tragedy contained no reference to any source whatever, while those appearing between 1648 and 1656 were preceded by chaps. 23-26 of Book I of Livy's *History of Rome*, and this account of the duel between the Horatii and Curiatii for the supremacy of their respective cities has naturally been looked upon ever since as the source of the play. A recent study of the tragedy led me to draw Amyot's Plutarch from my shelves, and to my great surprise I found distinct evidence that here also Corneille had been working with his Amyot apparently open before him. In the case of *Pompée* the verbal agreement was too close to admit of doubt. In the present instance the verbal indebtedness is smaller, yet a comparison of the three texts will show clearly that Amyot's version of Plutarch's account of the same incident, related in the life of Tullus Hostilius, chaps. 8-21, was well known to Corneille, and that portions of the play rest upon suggestions received there.

Act I, scenes 1 and 2, contain dialogues between the women (Sabine, Camille, Julie), and merely prepare the plot. The first

opportunity for a comparison of the play with its sources is found in the speech of Curiace in scene 3 (ll. 279 ff.). The Alban soldier here relates to Camille the manner in which the idea of settling the difficulty by a single combat had originated. He reports that the proposition to decide the question at issue otherwise than through a general battle, which would weaken both the victor and the vanquished, was made by the Alban commander, whom Corneille calls *dictateur*, agreeing with both Livy and Plutarch. In both sources the plan is outlined in a lengthy speech, which Corneille imitates without following either slavishly. In the ancient authors the main reason advanced by the Alban for such an arrangement is the need of defense against a common enemy that is threatening them. Let them unite against that danger, and not make war upon each other, who are relatives and neighbors. This is also the pith of the argument advanced in the play, ll. 285 ff., and, so far as the language is concerned, either Livy or Plutarch would be a sufficient source. With Corneille, however, the relationship of the two armies is the pivot, and this thought, though present in Livy, is much more elaborated by Plutarch, so that, so far as the spirit of the speech is concerned, Corneille seems somewhat more in touch with the latter than with the former. Two lines even contain a suggestion of Amyot's language (cf. ll. 295, 296):

Nos ennemis communs attendent avec joie
Qu'un des partis défait leur donne l'autre en proie,

and Amyot:

nos ennemis communs profitent de nos divisions et conspirent contre nous.

However, the verbal similarity may be due to accident, and Livy presents the same thought:

Memor esto, jam quum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac victimum aggrediantur.

The proposition is then made by the Alban chief to select champions on either side, who by a single combat shall determine which of the two nations is the victor in the war. The offer is accepted, it is agreed that there shall be three representatives for each people, and an armistice is declared, during which the officers

of the two armies shall decide upon the proper champions (ll. 307-27).

Livy relates the same proposition to decide the war with less bloodshed:

ineamus aliquam viam, qua utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine¹ utriusque populi decerni possit.

However, the manner in which the kings are led to rest their choice upon the champions that are finally selected is somewhat different. He continues:

forte in duabus tum exercitibus erant tergemini fratres, nec aetate nec viribus dispares. . . . Cum tergeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro.

That is to say, Livy's account appears to be the reverse of that of Corneille. With the latter it is first determined that there shall be three champions on each side, and during the armistice the two trios are selected to fill the rôle. In Livy the first decision is merely to intrust the whole controversy to specially selected representatives, and when this has been agreed upon, the number seems to be an after-thought.

Plutarch's account of the agreement accords in this particular with that of Corneille. The Alban dictator "proposa de décider le différend par les armes. Cet avis fut généralement approuvé. Mais on n'étoit pas d'accord sur le nombre des combattans." Tullus then proposes to select one representative on each side, and suggests that he himself fight the duel for the Romans, and the Alban dictator for his people. But this proposal is rejected by the Alban:

Il concluoit qu'il falloit choisir de chaque côté trois champions pour combattre à la vue des deux armées; et pour donner plus d'autorité à son sentiment, il ajoutoit que le nombre de trois étoit un nombre très propre pour décider toutes sortes de contestations, parcequ'il comprend un commencement, un milieu, et une fin.

This proposition meets with approval, and in consequence the Horatii and Curiatii are selected to represent their respective cities.

It is evident Corneille's arrangement of the story agrees with

¹Cf. CORNEILLE, "à moins de sang," l. 305.

Plutarch rather than with Livy. At the same time, several of Corneille's lines reflect quite closely the thought of Livy. Compare—

Que chaque peuple aux siens attache sa fortune;
Et suivant ce que d'eux ordonnera le sort,
Que le foible parti prenne loi du plus fort
(ll. 308-10)

with Livy: “*ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit . . . ut eujus populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret . . .*”

The time elapsing between this proposition and the final choice of the champions, which fills up in Corneille the interval between the first and second acts, is suggested by both the ancient authors. However, Livy merely says, “*cum tergeminis agunt reges,*” while Plutarch devotes some space to their family history. They were sons of Alban twin sisters, the one married to a Roman called Horace, the other to an Alban by the name of Curiace. When asked to accept the honor offered them, the Curiatii at once signify their readiness to do so. The Horatii are equally eager, but they ask for time to obtain the permission of their father. All this is absent from Corneille's play, and one wonders why he did not make use of this admirable opportunity to picture at length the attitude of the older Horace before the battle. Perhaps the last line of Act II, in which the father says to his son and Curiace, “*Faites votre devoir, et laissez faire aux dieux*” (l. 710), is an echo of this portion of Amyot: “*Allez, généreux enfants, je vous donne mon consentement; allez porter à Tullus une réponse digne de vous.*” In Livy the old father does not appear until after the victory.

The next passage in which Corneille follows his sources directly occurs in Act III, scene 2, when Julie gives an account of the beginning of the duel, ll. 779 ff. Here Plutarch is much more elaborate, and it seems evident that Corneille has followed him. When the brothers, ready for battle, advanced toward each other, Livy merely says: “*horror ingens spectantes perstringit.*” Plutarch goes into details:

Un spectacle si touchant tire des larmes aux spectateurs, ils accusent leurs généraux de cruauté, et se reprochent à eux-mêmes d'avoir obligé

des parens à s'égorger les uns les autres pour les intérêts publics, tandis qu'ils auroient pu sans conséquence donner à d'autres une si triste commission.

Compare Corneille, ll. 781-84:

Sitôt qu'ils ont paru, prêts à se mesurer,
On a dans les deux camps entendu murmurer :
À voir de tels amis, des personnes si proches,
Venir pour leur patrie aux mortelles approches.

A little farther on Amyot continues:

Mais dès qu'on les vit aux mains, on entendit de part et d'autre un grand bruit mêlé d'acclamations, de voeux, d'exhortations, d'applaudissements, de gémissemens, et l'air retentissoit de leurs cris militaires.

This passage has evidently inspired ll. 785-92:

L'un s'émeut de pitié, l'autre est saisi d'horreur,
L'autre d'un si grand zèle admire la fureur ;
Tel porte jusqu'aux cieux leur vertu sans égale,
Et tel l'ose nommer sacrilège et brutale.
Ces divers sentiments n'ont pourtant qu'une voix :
Tous accusent leurs chefs, tous détestent leur choix ;
Et ne pouvant souffrir un combat si barbare,
On s'écrie, on s'avance, enfin on les sépare.

The momentary separation of the champions which now follows (ll. 808-27), to give the two kings the opportunity to consult again the wish of the gods through a sacrifice, is an invention of Corneille. There is nothing in Livy that in the slightest degree hints at such a delay. Plutarch also presents nothing similar, yet it is not impossible that the elaborate way in which he describes the feelings of the two armies may have suggested to Corneille the supposition of a temporary armistice.

The story is continued in the speech of Valère, ll. 1104 ff. In the description of the battle Corneille plainly follows Livy, with evident translation of the Latin text; cf. ll. 1131-33:

J'en viens d'immoler deux aux mânes de mes frères ;
Rome aura le dernier de mes trois adversaires,
C'est à ses intérêts que je vais l'immoler,

and Livy: "duos . . . fratrum manibus dedi: tertium causae belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo." The account

of Plutarch varies fundamentally here (cf. chap. xvi), though at the end he refers to the version contained in Livy as that commonly current among historians.

The close similarity with Plutarch begins again with Act IV, scene 5, when Horace returns to his home, laden with the spoils of his victims. Both Plutarch and Livy agree in relating that he met his sister before the gates of Rome. This variation from the sources was demanded by the unity of place; the stage direction to this scene, "Procule portant en sa main les trois épées des Curiaces," is plainly a translation of Livy's "tergemina spolia prae se gerens." Now, Livy merely relates here that at this sight the sister burst out into tears, "solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat," whereupon Horatius, moved by sudden anger, killed the girl.

Plutarch tells that Horace thought the sister had come out to meet him in order to congratulate him on his victory:

Il crut que c'étoit l'empressement de le complimenter sur sa victoire, et d'apprendre les circonstances du combat, qui l'avoit fait passer par dessus les règles de la bienséance, qui obligent une jeune fille à se tenir toujours sous les yeux de ses parens.

The thought of the merited congratulation is evidently present in ll. 1255 and 1256:

Vois ces marques d'honneur, ces témoins de ma gloire,
Et rends ce que tu dois à l'heure de ma victoire.

Then Plutarch describes her attitude, when she saw the evidences of her lover's death:

. . . elle déchire ses habits, elle se frappe la poitrine, elle répand des torrens de larmes, et appelle son cousin ; l'air retentit de ses gémissemens. Après avoir pleuré la mort de l'Albain qu'elle aimoit, elle arrête ses yeux sur son frère, et lui fait les reproches les plus sanglans.

The suggestions contained in this passage, entirely absent from Livy, are elaborated in the attitude and words of Camille, ll. 1262-1318.¹

¹ It is interesting to note, in passing, that the famous passage, ll. 1301-18, in which Camille hurls malediction upon Rome, is an imitation of a similar outburst in MAIBET's *Sophonisbe*, ll. 1854-64; cf. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Corneille, Horace* (Hachette & Cie), p. 41.

Finally Horace is carried away by anger and stabs his sister. Both ancient authors agree here in substance as to the words uttered by him as he sees his sister fall. Yet Corneille's

Ainsi reçoive un châtiment soudain
Quiconque ose pleurer un ennemi romain
(ll. 1321-22)

reflects Amyot's "Puisse toute Romaine qui ose pleurer un ennemi avoir le même sort, et périr d'une mort aussi tragique," rather than Livy's "sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem."

Further evidence of the influence of Amyot becomes apparent in the scene in which the older Horace is confronted with his son after the murder of Camille, Act V, scene 1. According to Livy, Horace was at once led before the king, and his trial begun. Plutarch relates that the young man went from the scene of the murder "plein d'une indifférence sauvage du même pas à la maison de son père." Then he continues:

Horace le père, digne d'un tel fils, reçut le vainqueur et le parricide avec des transports de joie qu'on ne peut exprimer. Ayant appris la mort de sa fille, loin d'y paroître sensible, il trouva, qu'elle avoit mérité un si triste sort, et que son fils s'étoit comporté en toutes choses comme un zélé citoyen.

Compare with this passage ll. 1405-18 of the play, in which the father gives voice to very similar sentiments.

The scene which follows contains the trial of Horace before the king. Here Livy relates that the king handed him over to duumvirs with instructions to find him guilty of high treason, at the same time advising him to appeal from their judgment to the people. Plutarch again describes the whole scene more in detail, and in fact seems to contain in outline the whole trial scene of Act V. He relates that Horace is brought to the king by

quelques-uns des premiers de la ville . . . pour lui demander justice du sang de sa sœur dont il s'était souillé. L'accusation fut vive, et soutenue de fortes raisons. On cita les loix qui défendoient de tuer: elles étoient formelles; et à les suivre à la rigueur, Horace méritoit la mort.

Here lies, unless we are much mistaken, the kernel from which has sprung the speech of Valère, ll. 1481-1534.

Plutarch continues that the king, not knowing what to do in this predicament, decided to hand him over to duumvirs, that Horace then appealed upon his advice, and that his father pleaded his cause with vehemence. The same facts are reported by Livy, but the substance of the father's argument is not identical with that outlined by Plutarch. Both accounts are, however, of the greatest interest in the present discussion, for a scrutiny of the speech of the older Horace, ll. 1631-1728, reveals the fact that Corneille has utilized them both, joining them freely together, but without obliterating the traces.

The speech is divided into sections addressed to the different persons prominent in the action. First comes an answer to Sabine's accusation of Horace (ll. 1635-47), which is invented, as is the character of Sabine. Then the father turns to the king and answers the arguments of Valère (ll. 1647-74). Here Corneille plainly follows suggestions found in Plutarch:

Son père plaide sa cause avec véhémence. Il soutint que l'action que son fils avoit faite ne devoit point passer pour un meurtre, mais une juste vengeance; qu'il étoit le père de l'accusé et de celle pour qui on demandoit justice; que le malheur, s'il y en avoit, le regardoit lui seul; qu'il étoit le juge le plus compétent des affaires de sa maison, et que s'il eût cru son fils coupable, il l'eût lui-même condamné et puni de son autorité paternelle. . . .

The passage in Corneille is too long to be cited in full; I will point out merely the lines in which the imitation is particularly evident:

. . . ce bras paternel
L'auroit déjà puni s'il étoit criminel;
J'aurois su mieux user de l'entièr puissance
Que me donnent sur lui les droits de la naissance.
(ll. 1657-60)

Qui le fait se charger des soins de ma famille?
Qui le fait, malgré moi, vouloir venger ma fille?
Et par quelle raison, dans son juste trépas,
Prend-il un intérêt qu'un père ne prend pas?

(ll. 1667-70)

Then the older Horace turns to Valère, and again to the king (ll. 1675-1710); and here Corneille just as plainly follows the suggestions of Livy:

Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. . . . Huncce aiebat quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incidentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albatorum oculi tam deformes spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis hujus; arbori infelici suspende; verbera, vel intra pomoerium, modo inter illam pilam et spolia hostium, vel extra pomoerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent.

With this passage should be compared particularly ll. 1687–1700:

Où penses tu choisir un lieu pour son supplice?
Sera-ce entre ces murs que mille et mille voix
Font résonner encor du bruit de ses exploits?
Sera-ce hors des murs, etc.

And again ll. 1705–8:

Sire, ne donnez rien à mes débiles ans:
Rome aujourd'hui m'a vu père de quatre enfants;
Trois en ce même jour sont morts pour sa querelle;
Il m'en reste encore un, conservez-le pour elle.

The attitude of the younger Horace during the whole trial is passed over in silence by Livy. Plutarch describes it as follows:

Pendant que ses accusateurs pressoient ses juges de le condamner à mort, et lors même que sa sentence étoit prononcée, il étoit aussi tranquille que s'il se fût agi d'une chose indifférente.

In the face of the decided influence of Amyot in the scene, it is not impossible that the speech of Horace, ll. 1535–94, owes part of its spirit, at least, to the passage from Plutarch just cited.

A final instance of the influence of Plutarch seems to occur in the directions given by Tulle for the purification of Horace. Livy merely mentions the fact: “imperatum patri ut filium expiaret. . . .” Plutarch says: “Il [i. e., Tullus] fit donc venir les pontifes et leur ordonna d'appaiser la colère des dieux et des génies. . . .” Compare with this passage ll. 1770–76 of the play:

Mais nous devons aux dieux demain un sacrifice,
Et nous aurions le ciel à nos vœux mal propice
Si nos prêtres, avant que de sacrifier,

Ne trouvoient les moyens de le purifier :
Son père en prendra soin ; il lui sera facile
D'apaiser tout d'un temps les mânes de Camille.

This comparison will have proved, I think, the assertion made at the beginning of this article. The actual additions to the interpretation of Corneille's tragedy are small, and yet the point is of interest, because it allows us to see Corneille at work.

That he knew Amyot's Plutarch goes without saying; in fact, it were strange if he had not read him. That he should have used him without even once mentioning his name is probably to be accounted for by the fact that Amyot had practically become a French classic, a modern author, whose name did not belong in the same category as those of classical writers.

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ELEMENTS OF MAGIC IN THE ROMANCE OF WILLIAM OF PALERNE.

ABOUT the year 1350, at the command of Sir Humphrey Bohun, the French *Roman de Guillaume de Palerne* was translated into English by one William, of whom we know nothing but this name. The translator was unusually faithful to his original, omitting nothing essential and making no important addition; though he greatly increased the poetic merit of the whole by adding, here and there, some bit of description or character portrayal, as unusual in the romances of the fourteenth century as the fresh humor which is William's undying charm.

Of the origin of the French *Roman* we know nothing. Sir F. Madden in his preface to the first modern edition of the English poem¹ makes the suggestion that the story was founded "on some Italian tradition picked up by the Norman adventurers in Apulia and Sicily;" thus taking for granted that in the French poem² of the last quarter of the twelfth century we have the earliest version of this delightful and unusual little romance.

It would seem necessary, before turning to the discussion of the subject of this paper, to give a brief synopsis of the story embodied in both versions of the romance. Short portions of the first part of the English version are missing, so that it is necessary to supply the corresponding parts from the French. As the stories are identical, however, in all other parts, it is both safe and easy to use the original version.

Although William of Palerne bears the title rôle in this romance, he is not, in my opinion, the real hero of the story. Alphouns, the Werwolf, who does, in fact, appear in the second title of the English poem, is undoubtedly its most interesting, indeed its central, character. His story is briefly as follows: His father was the king of Spain, a just and kindly man. At Alphouns's birth his mother died, and in course of time the king married

¹Quoted in the Introduction to the Early English Text Society edition, Extra Series I, p. xiv.

²Société des Anciens Textes Français, ed. H. MICHELANT, 1876.

again. The new queen was a woman renowned for her occult wisdom and the power of her magic charms. She seemed, for a time, merely indifferent to the boy Alphouns; but, after the birth of a son, she grew jealous on his behalf and determined to remove the king's elder son from her boy's path to the throne. By means of a magic salve and charms she transformed Alphouns, therefore, to a werwolf, who, realizing his plight, very naturally rushed at the queen—

And hent her so hetterly to have hire astrangled
Pat hire deth was neiz diȝt to deme be soþe.¹

At her cries he fled, and thus began his many years of wandering, in his strange disguise.

One day Alphouns came to Sicily, and there discovered that the baby heir to the throne, William of Palerne, was about to be slain at the command of his wicked uncles. He seized the child, bore him across to Italy, and at last left him in the care of a kindly cowherd living near Rome.

For seven years the little William, always watched from a distance by his rescuer, lived happily with his foster parents. Then the werwolf, thinking it time his protégé should be advanced and educated, led the emperor of Rome, whom he found opportunely hunting in the forest, to the spot where William was tending his kine. Charmed with the unusual beauty of the boy, the emperor took him home and placed him under the care of his little daughter, Melior. The two, growing up together—always, though they knew it not, under the eye of the “witty werwolf”—not unnaturally fell in love, and, at last, upon the eve of a projected marriage between Melior and a Greek prince, ran away together, disguised by their clever little friend Alexandrine as two white bears.

Upon their arrival in the forest, the werwolf claimed them as his charge, and led the lovers—quite unconscious of his maneuvers—back to Sicily, William's native land. After many adventures and hair-breadth escapes from the eager pursuit, the pair reached the island, constantly guided, provided for, and consoled by their four-footed friend. Finding his mother and sister besieged by the king of Spain, William, without knowledge of his

¹ Ll. 150, 151.

relationship to them, at once espoused their cause, and, with a werwolf as device upon his shield, overthrew all that opposed him and reduced the king, not only to subjection, but to imprisonment.

Alphouns, the werwolf, who had meanwhile been absent, now reappeared and by his curious motions and obeisances before his father, the king of Spain, led him to think of his lost son and the rumors concerning his transformation into a werwolf. His step-mother, the queen, being promptly summoned, aroused a murderous rage in Alphouns, who was with difficulty restrained by William from rushing upon her at once. In terror, she confessed her guilt and her present readiness to make amends; retired with the werwolf, now quieted, and by means of a ring tied with a red thread about his neck, and the usual charms, restored him to humanity in the shape of a naked man. The story ends with the marriage of Alphouns to William's sister, Florence, of William to Melior, of the clever Alexandrine to Alphouns's half-brother, Braundins; the return of all to their homes; and, finally, the election of William, after the death of his father-in-law, to the empire of Rome.

Apart from its literary excellence, the characteristic which distinguishes this romance, as outlined above, and gives it a place all its own among the non-cyclic romances, is the great prominence it gives (1) to the element of magic, especially as expressed in the transformations of men into animals, and (2) to the influence of prophetic dreams. No less than five dreams, bearing directly upon the story and influencing its development, are related at length. Two of these are caused by the magic of the witch-like Alexandrine, to promote the love affair of William and Melior.¹ Two are prophetic of immediately ensuing events, the one leading to the escape of William and Melior from their pursuers, the other acquainting them with events occurring at a distance,² and the fifth, that of the queen of Palerne, longest and most elaborate of all, foretells, not only the coming of William and Melior in their second disguise as deer, and William's conquest of her enemies, but her son's final triumph as emperor of Rome.

¹ Ll. 657-77, 862-70.

² Ll. 2293-2313, 3104-7.

More interesting than the dreams, however, are the three cases of men's transformation into animals presented in this poem: the change of Alphouns into a werwolf, the change of William and Melior into white bears, and their and the queen's final change into deer. It is true, the last two metamorphoses mentioned are spoken of in the poem merely as disguises: William and Melior, determined to escape together for the sake of their love, appeal to the crafty Alexandrine to aid them in their departure. Alexandrine, having procured two white bearskins from the kitchen, sews up the lovers in the skins and sends them off on all fours.¹

From this time until they change their disguise, William and Melior are most frequently mentioned by the poet as "the beres," and he seems throughout to lose consciousness of the fact that they had not actually undergone transformation.² The change from human to bear-nature was almost as common, especially in Germanic countries, as that to wolf-nature, as witness the Berserker of Scandinavia. A popular tradition of the sort, in which the transformation has been rationalized and Christianized (by the introduction of the devil!) is found in Grimm's "Bearskin" Tale 101—where "Bearskin" hardly retains any human characteristics during his seven years' compact with the Evil One. In this instance, as in that of the chief transformation in our poem, the werwolf, the man does not partake the character of the animal whose shape he assumes, but retains the better part of his human mind.

Having become notorious as bears, William and Melior, led always by the ready wisdom of their wolf-friend, reject the tell-tale white skins and assume those of a hart and hind, provided for them by Alphouns.³ This would seem to be mere repetition in another form and hardly worth remark, were it not for a curious bit of additional detail which appears to corroborate the theory that the disguises of this poem must have been, in some earlier form of the story, actual animal transformations. This additional bit of evidence consists in the account of how the queen of Palerne, having seen the hart and hind in her garden, and having learned, through her dream, that these were to be her deliverers, herself

¹ Ll. 1636-1744.

² See l. 2401 and elsewhere.

³ Ll. 2374-96.

put on a *deerskin* before going down to meet them.¹ Of course, this may be merely the elaboration of the poet, but it seems rather to bear the marks of early tradition. For why should the queen, if perfectly sure that the strangers were actual human beings, merely clothed in deerskins, not go to meet them in her proper costume? It seems an unanswerable question. If, on the other hand, the lovers were actually transformed into deer, they would very naturally be afraid of a human queen, but quite unaffrighted by one of the same form as themselves. To primitive conceptions it was perfectly natural that the queen should herself become a deer, in assuming the deerskin, in order the better to parley with her deer-transformed guests. The fact, too, that transformations into the forms of animals or birds were, from the earliest times, often accomplished for the sake of speed falls in with this theory.² Strength, represented by the bears, and speed, represented by the deer, were both necessary to bring the lovers, William and Melior, from Rome to their asylum in Sicily, and to enable them to escape the vigilant pursuit and the manifold dangers of their journey.

Whether William, Melior, and the queen were or were not originally transformed into the creatures whose skins they wore, however, we have an actual transformation here which forms the central interest of the story for students today, as it doubtless did for the less analytical readers on whose account it was first set down in French and English. The werwolf, Alphouns, is, as I have said above, without doubt the real hero of the romance, combining in himself most strangely the characteristics of victim and *deus ex machina*, of wild beast and guardian angel.

Mr. Kirby F. Smith, in "An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature,"³ mentions the *Lai de Bisclavret* and two other *lais* closely connected with it, as the only stories of the "constitutional werwolf" in which the author is on the side of the werwolf and enlists the sympathy of the reader on his behalf. We have in William a yet more conspicuous example of the glorifica-

¹ LL. 2059-71, 3110-19.

² Cf. the story of the Swedish soldier Afzelius, UMGEWITTER, 2, 361, quoted by MR. K. F. SMITH, "The Werwolf," p. 23, note; also, p. 25. The gods of Scandinavia use the power of transformation "for the purpose of making rapid journeys."

³ *Publications of Modern Language Association*, New Series, Vol. II (1894).

tion of the man-beast. His type is that of those involuntarily transformed; but, even among stories of such guiltless victims, sympathy on the part of the author is exceedingly rare.

It will have been seen in the synopsis of the story, not only that the attitude of the author is very unusual, but that the character of the werewolf himself is almost unprecedented. In only two instances does Alphouns show a resemblance in nature to the traditional werewolf: in his two meetings with the step-mother who transformed him. The ferocity and thirst for blood and the horrible gruesomeness which are the traits of the man-wolf from time immemorial are entirely absent here. He is most often spoken of as the "witty werwolf," and even when deeds of violence would be perfectly natural, as in stealing food for William and Melior, he harms no one. He rushes not upon a man "wif a rude roring," but lets him escape unhurt save for a grisly fright. "His wit welt he euer," in the full sense that not only could he reason and calculate with a man's mind, but he could feel with a man's heart. He was, in fact, no more truly transformed than William and Melior when they donned the bearskins as a disguise. And it may be added here that the unusual rationalization and humanization of the acknowledged magic change from man to werwolf is an additional argument in favor of the bear- and deerskin changes being originally actual transformations also.

This unusual characterization of the werwolf might arise from one of two causes: either directly from the influence of the author of the French romance, or from the late form of the story as it came to him. Since we have nothing earlier than the French version, and since our English poem is a direct translation of that, it is impossible actually to decide between these alternatives. It seems more probable, however, since the whole plot of the story as we have it hinges on the character of the werwolf, that wherever the poet found it, he found it in substantially its present shape. Of course, it is easy to imagine that, in an earlier form of the tradition, the theft of William by the werwolf had no other motive than the satisfaction of the latter's hunger, and that the child was afterward rescued by the cowherd with whom he passed his boyhood. If, as I have suggested, the earlier story had really transformed

the lovers into bears, they would then be fitting companions for a werwolf and their journeyings together were not unnatural. In the dearth of facts, however, it is only possible to say that the character of the werwolf would of itself be sufficient to stamp this story as very late, and it is impossible to do more than guess at its primitive form.

Let us turn, now, to a discussion of the various classes of werwolves and to the place of Alphouns among them. I shall first consider three general types of werwolf-transformations—for it is by their transformations that the classes are distinguished—and then try to show that the widely spread and various stories of swan-transformations can be placed in corresponding categories.

Mr. Kirby Smith, in his article on the werwolf, to which I have already had occasion to refer, makes two general divisions under which the werwolf stories that have come down to us from all ages can be grouped; these are the "voluntary," or "constitutional," werwolf, and the "werwolf by magic." The distinction between the two is sharply drawn, but no possibility of a connection is considered. For the purposes of this paper it would seem better to make three divisions, all more or less connected, yet each clearly distinct. Before describing them, however, I must state the fact that the use of magic charms and ointments which often accompanies one or other method of animal transformation is not in any way distinctive of these methods, but belongs to the general province of folk-magic, and will not therefore be more particularly considered here. In every instance of transformation, as here in the case of Alphouns, the charms and ointments have probably been added at a late date, after a sophisticated system of magic had been developed.

To return: the first of my three types is that so ably discussed by Mr. Kirby Smith—the constitutional type, or werwolf-by-nature. Here the change from man-form to wolf-form is purely voluntary¹ and occurs either at the option of the wolf-man or at fixed time intervals. The only condition necessary to the change

¹"Voluntary" in the sense that, whether the change be periodic or not, *desire* for the change always precedes. The *wish* may recur at regular intervals, but, the nature of the man being twofold, the wish always precedes the act. Cf. *Lai de Bisclavret*.

is the removal of the man's clothes when he desires to become wolf, and his resumption of the same clothes to become man. Here the wolf-nature is distinctly predominant, and, as Mr. Smith says, the man is looked upon as "a demoniac wolf in disguise, a flimsy disguise which he may throw off at any moment." The best illustrations of this type are: the "Freedman's Tale" in Petronius, *Satire 61*, and the *Lai de Bisclavret* by Marie de France, both quoted by Mr. Kirby Smith. In the former a freedman sees a soldier, a friend of his, suddenly stop at a lonely place in the road, remove his clothes, emit a howl, and rush off into the woods in the form of a wolf. Later the freedman hears that a ravenous wolf has been among the cattle of another friend and has received a severe cut in the neck. On returning to the soldier's lodging, his friend finds him lying bathed in blood which pours from a great gash in his neck. The conclusion is evident: the man is a voluntary,¹ constitutional werewolf, and an object of horror ever after.

In Marie's *lai* a husband is guilty of frequent and mysterious absences from home, recurring at regular intervals. His wife, evidently acquainted with the habits of werwolves, having wormed from him the admission that he possesses the hated dual nature, begs him to tell her where he hides his clothes. After much hesitation he reveals the secret hiding-place, and to his sorrow. For when next the desire for transformation comes upon him, his wife follows him, steals his clothes, and leaves him powerless to regain his human shape. Afterward, by the intervention of King Arthur, he is restored and his unfaithful wife punished.²

The second method of transformation is that called "Teutonic" in Mr. Smith's article. The process is just the reverse of the former one. A man becomes a werwolf by putting on a "wolf-shirt"—or later a wolfskin girdle—and returns to human shape by removing it. Here, as in the first type, the change is usually voluntary, and occurs at either regular or irregular inter-

¹ See note on preceding page.

² See, in connection with this *lai*, the interesting article of PROFESSOR G. L. KITTREDGE appended to his recent edition of "Arthur and Gorlagon," a Latin version of a Welsh-Irish werwolf tale. The four versions of *The Werwolf's Tale* with which he deals all belong to the "constitutional" type with more or less admixture of later magic (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VIII, pp. 149 ff.).

vals.¹ It is usually periodic, the periods often connected with the number nine. In this type the human nature, on the whole, predominates, even though, as in the case related in the *Volsunga Saga* (chaps. 5-8), the werwolves are wolves for longer periods than they are men. Mr. Smith quotes this latter story. Sigmund and Sinfiötli "fared forth into the forest after spoil; and they came upon a house, and two men with great gold rings were sleeping therein. They were at the time free from a great ill, for wolf-shirts were hanging upon the wall above them; every tenth day they might get out of those shirts." Sigmund and Sinfiötli, having put on the shirts, found themselves unable to return to human form, and rushing forth into the forest, gave themselves up to ravage and murder for the prescribed nine days. Then they returned, burned the skins, and so relieved themselves and the king's sons of the fatal temptation to lead the wolf-life.

An Armenian story, into which later religious ideas have been introduced, shows the same fundamental characteristics. A woman, for her sins, is condemned to wander seven years as a wolf. A spirit robes her in wolf-clothes, which arouse in her wolf-appetites. She devours first her own children and those of her relatives, then the children of strangers. She rages only at night. When morning comes, she returns to her human shape and carefully conceals her wolfskin. Hertz says that this legend is so closely related to European, especially Slavic, werwolf legends that it almost seems as if it must have wandered into Armenia from Russia or Greece.²

The third type of transformation is distinguished from the first two by the fact that, in the large majority of cases, it is brought about by the power of some person other than the werwolf, and against his will. The change both to and from the wolf-form is accomplished by means of a ring or necklace, *i. e.*, a magic circle, usually of gold. It is not periodic, therefore, and frequently the man, once transformed, remains wolf to his death. A good illustration of this method is a story taken from the

¹In these stories, however, it is taken for granted that whoever puts on the "wolf-shirt" will become wolf, while in the case of the first class the gift of change, depending on a dual nature, is purely personal.

²W. HERTZ, *Der Werwolf*, p. 27.

German-Jewish *Maase Buch*.¹ In this story a rabbi sees one day a curious-looking weasel with a large gold ring in its mouth. He captures the weasel, obtains the ring, and finds it to be a magic talisman capable of granting his wishes. All this he tells his wife, but keeps the ring from her. At last, and of course, she discovers the ring and gains possession of it. In revenge, probably, for her goodman's lack of confidence in her, she promptly uses the powers of the captured ring to turn him into a wolf. He leaps out of the window and makes for the forest. The erewhile harmless rabbi now becomes a pest to the entire neighborhood, killing the cattle, threatening men's lives, and ravaging as no mere wolf could ravage. The king sets a price on his head, and a famous knight starts out to take him. When he reaches the depths of the forest he meets the wolf and struggles with it. Almost overcome, he resorts to prayer, and the wolf falls fawning at his feet. The knight having obtained the promised prize, the wolf remains with him till, one snowy day, he discovers the beast *wriling Hebrew* with his paw on the snow. He hurries back to town, secures the king, and returns to the forest, where the wolf is awaiting him, his whole story scratched out upon the ground. The wicked wife is, of course, sought at once and the ring procured. When it has been placed upon the paw of the wolf, the witnesses see a wolf no longer, but the man restored to his humanity.

In this third division—of involuntary werwolves—must be placed our werwolf, Alphouns, who, though apparently made werwolf by magic salves only, no ring being mentioned, is restored to human form through a combination of ring and necklace.

A noyment anon sche made: of so grete strengþe
bi enchaummens of charmes: þat euil chaunche hire tide,
þat whan þat womman þer-wiȝt: hadde þat worpi child
ones wel an-oynted þe child: wel al a-bowte
he wex to a werwolf wiȝtly þer-after
al þe making of man so mysse hadde þe schaped.²

¹ Earliest known edition, Basel, 1602; quoted by REINHOLD KÖHLER in the Introduction to the "Lais de Marie de France," *Bibliotheca Normanica*, Vol. III, pp. lxxix, lxxx.

² *William of Palerne*, E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser., I, ll. 136-41.

But at the last, when compelled to redress the wrong she had committed:

þan rauȝt sche forþ a ring: a rich and a nobul.
þe ston þat þeron was stijȝt was of so stif vertu
þat neuer man upon mold: miȝt it him on haue
ne schuld he with wiccheraft be wicched neuer-more.

* * * * *

þat riche ring ful redily with a red silk prede
þe quen bond als blive a-boute þe wolwes necke.
seþe feiþli of a forcer a fair bok sche rauȝt.
& radde þeron redli riȝt a long while
so þat sche made him to man,¹

a naked man, as almost all werwolves seem to become when freed from the wolf-nature.

Of course, there are endless combinations of these types with each other and with other methods of magic, as shown by the salve and the magic book in *William*. All probably represent some confusion or combination of stories, and all are comparatively late. Even the story of Sigmund and Sinfötli, one of the earliest of the Teutonic tales of werwolves that have come down to us, may be a combination of Types II and III, since it is expressly stated that the men who lay asleep with the wolf-shirts hanging above them had "great gold rings" on their fingers. Again, we have a combination of Type I, the constitutional werewolf, with the ring type, III, in the *Lai de Mélion*, where the hero removes his clothes, but must also be touched with his magic ring before he can assume werwolf shape, and touched with it again before he can return to human form.²

It was in trying to fix the position of Alphouns among his werwolf brethren that I was led to make the foregoing distinctions, with the results that shall be summed up later on. Having settled the predominating types of werwolves, in the three chief divisions that I have described and illustrated, I was struck with the fact (hinted by Mr. Kirby Smith in a general statement that the Scandinavians worked out a complete theory of transforma-

¹ *Op. cit.*, ll. 4424-34.

² See Introduction by R. KOHLER to "Lais de Marie de France—*Bisclavret*," *Bibliotheca Normannica*, Vol. III, pp. lxxvi-lxxviii.

tions—but not in any way developed or illustrated by him) that the swan-transformation stories and legends, which, in various forms, are interwoven in the romances of the Middle Ages, would fall into exactly parallel classes—even including that first class which Mr. Kirby Smith makes *sui generis* and quite unparalleled in literature or legend.

Under the first method of transformation come the stories recorded by Grimm that represent the folk-tales corresponding to the "Schwann-Ritter Saga." In these the children who have become swans must put on *shirts* to become human children again. The mere throwing of the human garments about them transforms them at once to human shape. The detail that, in most cases, the shirts are required to be of a special sort, made after a magic formula—as in the story where the small sister must weave the shirts of nettles gathered by night in a church-yard, and must neither speak nor laugh during the seven years of the weaving—all this is mere late addition of folk-magic, designed to heighten the effect of the tale.¹

In the second category fall the legends of the swan maidens, the valkyrie, who for the sake of speed assume the swan-mantles for which they are specially distinguished. One of the most charming of the stories about them is that into which Wayland has also been introduced.² Wayland, following a hind that appears suddenly before him, is led to a fountain in the midst of the forest. Presently to this fountain come three swans (another version says three doves), who transform themselves into beautiful women by the removal of their swan-mantles, or clothes, and, leaving these on shore, step into the fountain to bathe. Wayland possesses himself of their garments, and so has the maidens in his power. In the one story he lets two of the swans escape, keeping the third for his wife; in the other, the "Volundarkviða," where he is joined by his two brothers, each takes one and forces her to marry him. The point of the story lies in the fact that the

¹ See BRÜDER GRIMM, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin, 1870), Tale 49, p. 191. Compare HANS ANDERSEN, "The White Swans;" also GRIMM, Tale 9, p. 37, "Die zwölf Brüder"—a similar story.

² See "Friedrich von Schwaben" and "Volundarkviða," quoted by SCHOFIELD, "The Lays of Graelent and Lanval." *Publications of Modern Language Association*, New Series, Vol. VIII (1900), pp. 134, 135.

moment the swan-mantles are removed their owners become human, and they cannot possibly resume their bird-forms without regaining and assuming the mantles.

In one of the swan-boy legends, also, the boys return to their swan-shapes by means of swan-shirts which they have removed to become human. In this case, since the boys are enchanted, they can remove their feather-clothing only at fixed intervals—during the night—and are compelled to resume it, even against their wills, at daybreak.¹

But the method of transformation that is most frequently used in the versions of the swan-knight story is that third method that depends upon the magic circle of gold, in this case represented by a necklace. The six little boys, all born at one time in the forest, excite the envy of the wicked queen, their grandmother, by the gold necklaces found upon their necks. When the necklaces are stolen from them, all become swans, and remain in that form until, years afterward, the necklaces are restored. The one little swan-boy whose necklace has been melted up, and the magic thus destroyed, never becomes human.² In one swan-maiden story also the maiden's necklace is mentioned, and though it is not directly connected with the transformation, in some older version it is altogether probable that it figured more prominently.

Perhaps the last-named story would stand best as a combined type, like some of the *Märchen* of the swan-children, where the boys, transformed by their wicked grandmother, can be brought back to their rightful shape only through the shirts woven by the little sister whose necklace is mentioned as her most precious possession. Since no adequate reason appears to explain why the little girl did not become a swan with her brothers, perhaps it is

¹ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Tale 49, p. 193.

² In English, *The Romance of the Chevalere Assigne*, ed. H. H. GRIBBS, Early English Text Society, Extra Series 6, 1868; prose version, *Helyas Knight of the Swan*, printed by Robert Copland early in the sixteenth century, ed. THOMS, 1858. The earliest version of the story known to exist is in the Latin romance by the monk JEAN DE HAUTE SKILLE (JOHANNES DE ALTA SILVA), entitled *Dolopathos siue de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, twelfth century, ed. OESTERLEY, 1873. There are several French versions, the first directly from *Dolopathos* by the poet HERBERT, twelfth century, "Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne," ed. in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. IV (1889); *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroy de Bouillion* (so-called *Elie* version), ed. HIPPEAU (Paris, 1874), etc. Cf. WAGNER's *Lohengrin* for modern treatment of the story.

not too presumptuous to assume that here, as in the more elaborate romance versions of the story, the necklace proved an effective charm to keep its owner human.

We have seen, then, that both werewolf stories and swan stories—the best-known and most widespread examples of the human-animal transformation idea—may be grouped in three general classes. The first class accomplishes its transformation simply by the removal of human clothes, and by the resumption of these same clothes. A dual nature is presupposed. Ordinarily there is no fixed time at which the metamorphosis takes place. The change is usually voluntary. The man becomes wolf when and where he pleases, and returns to the human shape when his wolf-passions are appeased. The swan-boys, on the other hand, have been cursed with the swan-shape and cannot return to their true form at will. The wolf story, in this instance, is probably the more primitive. Definite time limits, such as are imposed in the "Lai de Bisclavret," are probably a later addition also.¹

The second class comprises the transformations by means of the skins of animal or bird—when the skins assumed are removed their wearers return to human shape. The change may be voluntary or involuntary; forced upon the man by a curse, or assumed at his own discretion and for a special purpose. The human nature here is uppermost, as is the animal nature in the first class, the power to transform it lying, as before, in the clothes assumed. Here the change is more frequently periodic than not, as we saw in the case of the swan-children who were boys by night, swans by day, and in that of the *Sigmund* story, where the periods were nine days long.

Lastly, the third class covers all those legends in which voluntary—or involuntary—change to wolf or swan is caused by the use of a magic circle of gold—ring or necklace—with or without accompanying charms.

What, now, is the relative age of these three classes of transformations? Undoubtedly, Class I, in its *oldest* form a purely voluntary constitutional type,² in which only the removal and

¹Cf. KIRBY SMITH.

²In many versions coming under this type the change is due to a curse, inherited or incurred by the man himself, and so is *involuntary*, occurring periodically at definite inter-

resumption of human clothes are necessary to accomplish the change of shape, is the most ancient.¹ For, in the first place, it is the simplest in device, thus agreeing with the principle that, the farther back we go, the simpler do beliefs and legends become; the older they are, the less are they burdened with detail. Again, it shows a primitive belief in the weakness of the division between man and the lower animals, and in the ease with which the line may be crossed by one and the other. Finally, it is not only the simplest, but the most perfect expression of the underlying idea, in at least all the werewolf transformation stories, of the duality existing in the very nature of the man-wolf; that duality which, more than all his acts of ferocity while in the wolf-form, has rendered him an object of hatred and grisly horror from the oldest times until now.

The relative ages of the second and third types are harder to determine. The magic-circle type is not necessarily the latest. For this idea of a magic circle is very ancient. Possibly this, once a general formula for changes of all kinds, may have come to be used for changes in form and nature between man and animals as early as the use of the actual skins of animals—or earlier. On the face of it, however, the use of the skins of the birds or animals themselves appears more primitive. It is a case of the appearance making the man: as, in the first type, one puts on human clothes to become human, so, in the second, one puts on animal clothes, and with them the nature and attributes represented by them in the popular imagination. As Mr. Kirby Smith says:² "The reasoning is simple and clear to the primitive mind—put on the wolf-shape, you become wolf." In the same way, assume the feathers of a swan, you are swan—with, of course, traces of the original nature remaining. A later age, with its more sophisticated ideas of magic, finds insufficient causation in the old stories, and the most widely used instrument of its magic, the *ring*, is introduced as a result.

vals of time. But in the *most ancient* form of the legend the change would seem to have depended on the man's own will, and so may be classed as purely voluntary. Cf. KIRBY SMITH, as before.

¹Cf. KIRBY SMITH, "The Werwolf," pp. 39, 40.

²"The Werwolf," p. 40.

The primitive form of the werewolf stories which group themselves in classes I and II, as compared with that of those in Class III, corroborates the belief in the comparative lateness of the latter. Moreover, in the case of the swan-series, we find the *Märchen* and folk-tales going into Classes I and II with, if anything, only a trace of the ring idea; while the romances, in all cases less primitive, group themselves in Class III.

The werewolf story embodied in *William of Palerne*, therefore, falls into what is probably the least primitive class of transformations, and its nearest parallel is found in the romance of the swan-knights. The fact that the ring, in Alphoun's case, is not used as a ring upon the finger, but is suspended by a cord about his neck, makes him the more nearly akin to the knights whose necklaces were necessary to their lives as men. Their stories in general, too, are similar. Like them, he suffered from the wrath of a witch in his father's household; like them, he wandered far and wide in his transformed shape; like them, he performed services of kindness wherever he went; and, like them, was finally restored to humanity through the golden circle. Though inhabiting a form which carried with it suggestions of wickedness and horror beyond expression, he seems to me fully worthy to stand in our affections side by side with those darlings of romance.

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NOTE.—A transformation analogous to a combination of Classes I and II of the werewolf transformations has been pointed out to me by Professor F. L. Carpenter in STRAPAROLA'S *Nights* (English edition, Vol. I, pp. 58-64). The story is as follows: Galeotto, king of Anglia, had a very beautiful wife named Ersilia. Their union was perfect but for one thing—the lack of children. One day Ersilia fell asleep in the forest, and while she slept three fairies came and blessed her. One said she should never fear, and should have a son. The second endowed this son with great gifts of mind and character. The third said he should be born in the shape of a pig, and should retain that form until he had thrice wedded a beautiful maiden.

In process of time the prince was born. Great was the horror of king and queen when they beheld his shape. His mother loved him, however, and he was allowed to run at will over the palace, even after wallowing in the mud of the street. One human gift he possessed—that of speech.

When the pig-prince had attained to years of manhood, he came one day to his mother and demanded a wife; and so violent did he become, when his request was refused, that the king and queen were forced to consider some means of agreeing to his demand.

There was a poor widow in the country who had three beautiful daughters. Her they summoned and asked the eldest of the girls for their son. Reluctantly the mother consented. The daughter was brought to the palace and wedded to the pig-prince. But at

night, when she saw him come in covered with mud, she plotted with herself how to kill him. He heard her whispered words, and rushing upon her slew her in her bed.

Some time after he again demanded a wife. The widow's second daughter, who had married him, like her older sister, in the hope of murdering him and succeeding to his wealth, met with the first wife's fate.

Once more Prince Pig demanded a spouse, and this time so violently that the queen went trembling to the widow to beg the hand of her third and youngest daughter for her terrible son. Gladly and humbly the young girl consented. With great gentleness and show of affection she called the prince to her and bade him lie on a fold of her gorgeous bridal gown. With patience she awaited his return at night, and lovingly summoned him to her side. What was her astonishment to see him strip off the loathsome hide of the pig and stand before her a radiantly beautiful naked prince. By day he continued for some time to assume the pigskin, by night his human form. At last, however, he was freed from the charm, and king, queen, and people rejoiced in his release.

Here we see indicated several characteristic points of the general transformation formula: (1) The prince possesses the dual nature, for while he retains the swine-shape he has the swinish desires of wallowing and gluttony. (2) He has certain murderous instincts which ally him with the werwolves, though in this instance justified as self-defense. (3) After his marriage with the youngest daughter he can assume or remove the skin at will—a trait of the transformations under Type II. (4) His animal shape is the result of a curse laid upon his mother previous to his birth—a common circumstance among the stories under Type I. On the whole, his is a combination of Types I and II.

The gift of speech is not generally granted to transformed men while in their animal or bird shapes; e. g., Alphouns communicates with William and Melior only by signs, the Jewish wolf by writing.

No doubt many other sporadic examples of transformation into the shapes of various animals could be adduced. Those given above, however, seem sufficient to establish the theory of three distinct yet interconnected types, under which may be grouped parallel stories at least from the swan and werwolf series of legends.



PRIMITIVE POETRY AND THE BALLAD.

III.

THE dualism of communal and individual poetry, and the formula of distinction between cumulative impression in an appeal to emotional community and provocative, imaginative appeal to individual sentiment, rest on the assumption that such changes as have come about in the conditions under which poetry is made have affected the whole poetic process, composition and record alike, changing both the poetic quality and the poetic appeal. The changes in environment are sociological and ethnological facts for which evidence is plentiful, and which led M. Brunetière¹ to invoke that "croissante complexité de la vie sociale" as cause of the modern personal notes in poetry. The changes of quality and appeal are literary facts open to the estimate of every critic. Professor Brandl remarks, in the essay already quoted, that I ought to have been jested out of my *sancta simplicitas* as disciple of Jacob Grimm; I could wish that Professor Brandl were to be persuaded out of his hilarity into a look at the facts. When Mr. Seeböhm, in his new book² as in his old, ranges the acts to show that older stages of social development must have cherished communal ownership and must have greatly restricted individual rights, one does not answer him with an obituary notice of the late Mr. Buckle. Again, within the range of facts, only those are to be considered here which bear directly on the case in hand. I protest against any implication of other critical views as fatal to the communal claim. Suppose, to quote from Professor Hildersleeve's "brief" but delightful "mention" of Bréal's essay, suppose that the Homeric poems were made, like modern opera, for a fashionable audience, and are sophisticated to a degree. Suppose the main thing in Homer to be the individual appeal, the cosmic thinking, the sentiment; suppose that the communal epic

¹ *Questions de critique*, "La littérature personnelle," p. 236, first published in 1888.

² *Tribal Customs in Anglo-Saxon Law* (1902), cf. pp. 496 ff.

majesty, the cumulative appeal, asserted in the foregoing section of this paper, are not to be found in Homer at all. Suppose his rich imagery takes him out of the communal file altogether, and suppose the *Nibelungen* itself to have no trace of the really popular strain.¹ Or, again, suppose this Homer was the wandering minstrel lately described with such charm by M. Anatole France. Or suppose ballads with F. A. Wolf; suppose *gemeinsames dichten* with Lachmann; suppose with the accretion folk; suppose a nation in verse with Grimm; suppose celestial origins with that reverent and tiptoe critic of the *Nation*; suppose what one will, or—*nam non curatur qui curat*—suppose nothing serious whatever, as Mr. Gregory Smith seems to recommend in the case of ballads: from none of these suppositions about the epic can come any real conclusion about the argument now before us. To prove that Homer is not primitive does not touch the validity of a formula based on known facts of actual primitive poetry. It must be proved by direct literary facts that ballads are not a survival of the old communal verse, of the primitive habit of poetic composition; it must be proved by sociological facts that the conditions of primitive verse-making were not essentially different from those of the modern poem. For such proof, I think, one will wait in vain. Sociological facts of merely modern range, without historical perspective, can say little for the matter; and as little can be said by pretty "laws" of social life, unless they really cover all the ground which they claim. It is a neat summary and phrase of M. Tarde when he says² that "il n'y a pas de science de l'individuel, mais il n'y a d'art que de l'individuel." Yet no one knows better than M. Tarde, with his clever illustration of the juryman, that an individual thinking and acting for himself is another person from the same individual feeling and acting with a crowd. Nor again, for confuting the theory of poetic dualism and destroying the formula of distinction, will it do to appeal to ultimate unity. In the last analysis poetry is one and the same at all times and places. If poetry of the throng is dominated by oral tradition, so the poetry of solitude is compassed about by its own cloud of

¹ EUGEN WOLFF, "Über den Stil des Nibelungenliedes," in *Verhandlungen der 8ten Versammlung deutscher Philologen, etc.* (Leipzig, 1890), cf. pp. 262 ff.

² *Les lois sociales* (1898), p. 155.

silent but determining forces; literary heredity is there, literary environment is there; and every poem must be at heart a mysterious blending of individual with social elements. But conditions of production determine the product in its characteristics; these are sufficient for dualism and formula; and with these, as plain facts, one has to deal.¹

The product, however, is in itself a plain fact; and to the plain facts of ballad literature recent writers have been devoting their attention untroubled by questions of a comparative and of a sociological drift. Two,² whose intimate knowledge of Scottish vernacular literature gives them an advantage in the discussion, have looked at the ballad for itself; their conclusion not only rejects the communal claim of origins, but makes, if successful, for a destruction far wider and far deeper in its reach. In his earlier book³ Mr. Henderson depends mainly on humorous remarks about "the heart of the people," which really tends, he says, to obscure and finally to efface the ballad. A reviewer,⁴ with style and comment astonishingly like the style and comment of Mr. Andrew Lang, disposes of this argument with the remark that "Mr. Henderson shows no sign of knowing anything about the matter;" and, while these are indeed bitter words, I must agree with them, if only for the reason that a writer who discusses the ballad with-

¹Folk-song, a far wider field than that of the traditional ballad, complicates the problem, but must be met in any final argument on this communal theme. Two interesting papers, one by JOHN MEIER, "Volkslied und Kunstslied in Deutschland," in the *Beilage zur allgem. Zeitung*, Munich, March, 1898, Nos. 53, 54, and one by DR. P. S. ALLEN, on "W. Müller and the German Volkslied," in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 283 ff., assert the contemporary doctrine that a folk-song is and was merely something sung by the folk. See also an article on "Cafés-concerts et Music Halls," *Revue des deux Mondes*, July, 1902, p. 61; "le café-concert est devenu l'art du peuple;" each man sings his couplet, it would seem, as the Norwegian peasant sang his *stev* or the Italian his *strambotto*. With such dissent as the upholder of communal theory finds in these articles there are two ways to deal. One is to deny outright any real analogy between the popular song of today, whether rural or of the *café-concert*, and the ballads and songs once produced by homogeneous communities and handed down by oral tradition. The task here is to prove the homogeneous conditions, once real, to be now no longer in existence, and also to prove the necessary connection of these conditions with communal poetry. Or one may reply that the ballad and the folk-song of tradition are simply higher and better specimens of a degenerating art which with these "crazy couplets in a tavern hall" has reached almost the lowest step in its melancholy *déringolade*. For what follows I shall only ask the reader to keep always in mind the absolute difference between stages in chronology and stages in evolution.

²MR. GREGORY SMITH, in his *Transition Period*, 1900, handling the European ballad of the fifteenth century, and MR. HENDERSON, first in his *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, 1898, and now in this edition of the *Minstrelsy*.

³Chap. xi.

⁴Daily News, January 4, 1899.

out looking at its elements and characteristics, without answering claims about the conditions under which it arose, deserves no serious consideration. Very different is the case in Mr. Henderson's edition of the *Minstrelsy*. He deals there with a definite group of ballads, briefly in his introduction, but mainly in his comment on individual poems. The drift of this critical work is very plain. Not only does proof of recent manufacture and of wholesale contamination seem to reduce communal theories to a pious but absurd superstition; it is really an attack upon balladry as a whole. It tends to break down, once for all, what so many other critics assail in these latter days—that worship of the ballad as a thing apart, as flotsam and jetsam from a sunken Atlantis of poetry.¹ Mr. Henderson, except for a few introductory opinions, does not argue the case; he examines the specimens of his collection and politely points out amiable but misguided enthusiasms of the former owner. "You see," he seems to say, "Sir Walter's labels? Of course, he had the best intentions. . . . Strange, though, that Professor Child, indeed an industrious and sagacious man, should have copied so many of these tags." Flaws, defects, mistakes of date and locality, are pointed out; but this zeal is not meant merely to correct the record. In the museum at Oxford, I think it is, one sees a number of genuine old flint arrow-heads, knives, and the like; close beside these are the counterfeits, and a photograph of the wily peasant who made them. Mr. Henderson goes farther than this. Scott, as everyone knows, put some innocent and acknowledged counterfeits into his collection—imitations made by himself, by Leyden, Sharpe, and others; they do no harm and have never disturbed the student of popular song. Now, Mr. Henderson will not utterly and at once deny the distinction; but he does imply that from imitating to editing and patching is no wide leap, and he evidently believes that the constantly growing mass of excisions from traditional material—excisions due now to discovered forgeries and now to innocent

¹ Appreciation of poetical qualities in the ballad is not our present concern; but I am inclined to think the reader will back what MR. CHILD says (Vol. II, p. 238) of *The Wife of Usher's Well*: "Nothing that we have is more profoundly affecting," against MR. HENDERSON's remark (Vol. III, p. 320): "There is nothing remarkable in the story, which might well be the creation of a dream." To MR. Child's praise of "Edward," MR. HENDERSON (*Scot. Ver. Lit.*, p. 338), drily remarks that the thing has been "doctored."

misunderstandings, innocent restoration, correction, arrangement—must in time reduce the ballad of tradition to quite negligible quality and quantity. He gives to Burns, for example, a share in that fine "old" ballad of "Tam Lane," which he suspects to have come from a romance, and to Scott practically all of "Kinmont Willie," as we knew, and of "Katharine Janfarie."¹ But we are not troubled over these random losses; like King Hal,

We do not mean the coursing snatchers only,
But fear the main intendment of the Scot.

Ballads, he declares, grow worse by tradition—a statement quite true for the circumstances to which he confines his research.² Could one come at all the facts, so he seems to argue, one would find popular poetry to be a patchwork of silk and frieze—silk both contributed from the private store of a Burns and begged as scraps from the discarded gowns of romance; frieze from the uncouth and vulgar haunts of the wandering minstrel, the sturdy beggar, the act-of-Parliament rogue.

This argument, however, is going to prove, if it is valid, a vast deal more than one might think, and will pull down a huge critical edifice heretofore regarded as solid and firm. It is not an argument; it is a revolution. Down go the gates of authentic balladry. Tom Deloney, Anthony Now-Now, and all that rout, are free of the city. Down go the barriers between a traditional ballad and doggerel of the stall. If one find this excellent ballad, give it to an excellent but anonymous poet. If chivalry and the large air of deeds command that ballad of battles long ago, consider it a fragment of old polite romance flung to the chances of popular and oral record.³ More than this, it seems that no test is left, that I can discover, by which one may pass upon the claims of a ballad to its place in any collection. Spirit, purpose, and meaning disappear, for such criticism, from the great work of Professor Child. "This Ninth Part," he wrote in 1894,

¹ Vol. II, pp. 380, 387.

² As far back as 1809, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique*, p. 288, "Notice du Patois Vendéen," M. REVILLIÈRE-LEPEAUX noted that it was the bad songs that got into print, while the best were to be sought in oral tradition.

³ For considerations which seem to make impossible this theory of Scott himself, of Professor Courthope, Mr. Henderson, and others, see the writer's *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 179 ff.

"completes the collection of English and Scottish ballads to the extent of my knowledge of sources"—with the exception of one uncopied piece in a lost manuscript. But how "complete"? It is clear that the notion of a traditional ballad existed in very exact shape for Professor Child, when one thinks of the host which he rejected. In Johnson's *Cyclopædia* he made a provisional statement of this notion; but it was not final, and he wished it to be neither quoted nor regarded as final. The statement is both negative and positive. With his sturdy common-sense, Mr. Child balked at the idea of folk-made poetry as set forth by Wilhelm Grimm; with sturdy particular sense, however, gained from long commerce with his subject, he goes on to say that, although men and not communities make the ballad, it comes from a period when people are not divided into markedly distinct classes, when "there is such community of ideas and feelings that the whole people form an individual." It must be traditional, then, and sprung from that homogeneous, unlettered community which all the great writers on balladry, including Ferdinand Wolf, himself a resolute skeptic about communal authorship, have demanded as a necessary condition of the original ballad. But this positive part of the statement Mr. Henderson rejects as highly inconvenient for his own view of the case; if Professor Child had put his mind on the subject, so a note¹ of expostulation declares, he would have come to a sounder and saner judgment. He would not, one may so interpret Mr. Henderson, any longer call the ballad "a distinct and very important species of poetry." He would not call fifteenth-century ballads "the creation . . . of the whole people, great and humble, who were still one in all essentials." He would not say that later ballads "belong to a different genus; they are products of a low kind of art."² In other words, he would have come to negation absolute, and could have given no final reason for the inclusions and exclusions of his own collection—*itself a definition of balladry*—save a kind of consistent caprice.³ That most scientific and comprehensive effort to gather what the

¹ Vol. I, p. xxiii.

² Professor Child's italics. See the whole article.

³ In his *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 336, MR. HENDERSON speaks kindly but firmly of this collection: "The chaff is out of all proportion to the wheat." How does Mr. Henderson test the wheat?

editor thought to be a definite class of poems, a class no longer represented in contemporary verse and therefore inviting a balance of the account, becomes a sort of glorified commonplace-book to be regarded, *mutatis mutandis*, somewhat as one regards Ben Jonson's *Timber*. The ballad, as a literary species, is thus read out of existence; and, as in the case of folk-songs, nothing is left to it in the way of definition save the vague predicate of "popular." Mr. Child simply collected the things which he liked out of a mass of things which seem to have been liked by the people.¹

Such is the implication of Mr. Henderson's remarks on the ballads which he has edited, for the narrower case, with taste, knowledge, and skill. But what he does not say is said out loud and bold by Mr. Gregory Smith,² who speaks from his critical watch-tower overlooking all the literature of the fifteenth century. What are these ballads, then? Popular? Not in the slightest. They are "a *literary*³ survival or *réchauffé* . . . of certain pre-existing literary forms;" they are "literary products." In Italy, "*rispetti* and *stornelli* were written for the people." The epic is not a resultant of ballads;⁴ and ballads themselves, far from being "popular," far even from being the work of minstrels, are a literary venture from the start, and a late venture at that. Mr. Smith does not go outside of Europe and the fifteenth century for his facts, and he pays no heed to argument or authority. He gives a polite nod to the late Gaston Paris, and then ruthlessly rides him down. Such communal elements as refrain, repetition, lack of trope or figure; such sociological facts as the power of improvisation once universal with the peasants of Europe; such ethno-

¹ No one can say what would have been Mr. Child's final word on this matter. Some notes for his general introduction which he showed me—I think in the summer of 1893—were scanty and tentative, mainly references to early English and other sources where ballads are either mentioned or implied. There is rich reward, however, for anyone who will excerpt all his critical remarks and determine their general drift. What, for example, are the qualities which make Mr. Child say of "Johnie Cock" that it is "a precious specimen of the unspoiled traditional ballad" (Vol. III, p. 1)?

² *Transition Period*, pp. 181-235.

³ Mr. Smith's own italics.

⁴ That is, I suppose, the *Gest of Robin Hood* was not "put together as early as 1400 or before" (CHILD) on the basis of older ballads; the ballads were broken up from it or from an older form of it. When SLOTH in *Piers Plowman* refers to "rymes of Robin Hood," he doubtless means the epic, a copy of which he carries with him! But MR. SMITH calls the *Gest* "a conglomerate of the ballad episodes," and says "the seemingly 'popular' character of these ballads requires some explanation." I agree with Mr. Smith here; but vehemently protest against Robin as an avatar of King Arthur.

logical facts as the growth of ballad-like songs in lower stages of culture; such cases as the Bannockburn songs, the Faroe islanders' ballad, the dancing and singing women of mediæval fame who made ballads upon persons and things as they danced; the survivals of communal song gathered by folk-lore from field and farm—for these and kindred facts Mr. Smith has no care. A specimen of his attempt at serious argument to show that men like Villon and Dunbar wrote what we call popular ballads is his use of the word *ballate*¹—a word then applied, if Mr. Smith but knew it, to anything from sensational journalism up to the Song of Solomon in an early version of the English Bible. Nobody could possibly go farther in the rejection of ballads as a class than Mr. Smith goes in these brief and light-hearted remarks, flung out, he says, not to convince the seeker after truth, but "simply to add to the gaiety of the ballad symposium." That is all very well for the common-room after dinner; as a printed contribution to what professes to be the historical study of literature, purpose and performance will be weighed in the scholar's balance and found wanting. Something more is needed to do what this argument essays to do, and bring the critical world back to that aristocratic disdain for all poetry of the people which held sway until the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Better, wider, deeper thinking must be spent upon this subject, if Herder and the Grimms and Wolf, pioneers, are to have all the hard-won territory taken from them, if colonists like Percy of old, Grundtvig and Child of later days, are to be proved aliens without right to the soil, their planting and reaping all in vain. Mr. Smith's arguments and theory have done no harm. Danger lies in direct attacks upon the ballads themselves. Admit what is hinted by Mr. Henderson, run every ballad to earth in a poet's yard, and the ballad itself is a figment of theory, a missing link. Mr. Henderson may say, indeed, that he is simply editing the *Minstrelsy*, and telling the whole truth about it so far as his information goes; he is not trying to read the ballad out of existence. But he must take the consequences of his general statements and of his particular criticism. Both statement and criticism suffer,

as Mr. Smith's theory not only suffers but dies, from the fact that the conclusions are very wide and the range of material very narrow. Mr. Child's keen instinct for a ballad of tradition was backed by intimate acquaintance with the balladry of all Europe. Mr. Henderson is like the physician who has never walked a hospital—sharp enough in his perceptions, conscientious, accurate, patient; but these qualities are not enough for diagnosis. Lack of experience leads him into particular error. "That *Willie's Lodye*," he says,¹ "is a genuine antique is not self-evident. It is not in the usual ballad measure." Had he only looked at the first volume of Child's collection, not to speak of Scandinavian and other ballads, he would not have made such a remark, no matter whether he held with Rosenberg that this old couplet added to the older refrain is source of ballad quatrains, or whether he took refuge in the septenar.

Two things the defender of communal origins in the ballad has a right to claim. First he asks that all the material be considered; and secondly he demands reasonable restitution of those communal elements—as he chooses to call them—which editors have very naturally omitted from the record. "Johnie Cock," which Mr. Child welcomed as a "precious specimen of the unspoiled traditional ballad," has a pervasive burden or refrain in the oldest copy, which was procured in 1780 by a lady of Carlisle. Marks of an even more pervasive tendency to repetition are also on this version. Scott's "Johnie of Breadislee," however, the same ballad made up from different copies, omits the refrain, touches away here and there the vain repetitions, and, making it more readable, leaves in it little traditional echo of the singing throng. It is evident, then, that an argument based on communal elements in the ballad needs to go outside of the *Minstrelsy* for material; and an answer to such argument must also come upon open ground. Plainly, too, in defending the test of a genuine ballad as traditional and ultimately derived from the remote time and place of homogeneous communities, collections like Child's and Grundtrig's, which assume such an origin, along with constant use of related literature, are indispensable material. Nevertheless, I shall take the

¹ Vol. III, p. 214.

Minstrelsy as it stands, and I shall ask whether Mr. Henderson's critical estimate of its contents must not yield to the communal claim that the ballads in it refuse to be classed with merely "popular" poems of art, but rather agree with the test of cumulative appeal to emotional community. It is not easy, in this sort of argument, to keep one's feet on firm ground. Refrains are refrains; repetition is repetition; the Faroe islanders, in their communal dance, singing an improvised ballad about an event hardly finished before their eyes, and with the hero in full view, present a stubborn fact; and I have noticed that the rationalists avoid discussion of such facts. But "cumulative appeal" and "emotional community" are fine food for rational powder. These qualities, so the taunt may run, exist in all poetry, have existed, will exist, like the other qualities of atomistic conception and imaginative appeal to individual sentiment. It is simply *naïve und sentimentale dichtung* once more, under new names, to furbish up a shop-worn and unsalable theory.

It may be replied that cumulative appeal to emotional community is far more than *naïve dichtung*; it is the vital principle of communal verse, and derives from the very elements which nobody really denies in that verse. If such an appeal is found in poetry of art, it is imitation, in whatever degree of success, of the communal quality. Scott, as I think, was the last of our poets who caught the note at its clearest and used it without effort; Tennyson, perhaps, carries his art as far as any in the opposite direction of individual appeal. In "Bonny Dundee," with its swinging refrain, where Scott revives the old charm far more successfully than in his direct imitations of the ballad, there is a stanza which at first sight seems analogous to a stanza of Tennyson's "Maud;" each is simple and direct in its appeal to emotion, and each employs a kind of natural magic in blending this appeal with a quality for which there is no better name than the picturesque:

He waved his proud hand, and the trumpets were blown,
The kettle-drums clashed, and the horsemen rode on,
Till on Ravelston's cliffs and on Clermiston's lee
Died away the wild war-notes of Bonny Dundee. . . .

and Tennyson:

Alas for her that met me,
That heard me softly call,
Came glimmering through the laurels
At the quiet evenfall,
In the garden by the turrets
Of the old manorial hall . . .

Critical analysis, however, soon puts these stanzas far apart, and traces back their distinct, and diverging paths of origin. Tennyson's simplicity and directness, suggestive withal, came by an exquisite art; Scott almost improvises. Tennyson's appeal is to individual sentiment; every word is a provocative whisper that sets the imagination peering down vista after vista of romance; every suggestion makes a kind of solitude for the reader's dream. Scott transports his hearer—not his reader, for the verse sings aloud—amid the clans and the bustle of march; he appeals, so far as the conditions of his art allow, to emotional community. Not a line, it is true, of "Bonny Dundee" could be foisted upon us for real ballad of tradition—perhaps that is the reason for its success in reproducing something of the communal spirit;¹ and yet it leads us back to the *Minstrelsy*, just as the *Minstrelsy* leads us to the balladry of Europe, and just as that holds in survival the elements of primitive song. In each of these backward steps one loses from view something more of the individual art without which, in however small degree, no deliberate effort of poetry can be rounded out and preserved. It is not a question of finding poetry where absolutely no individual art is concerned; one looks rather for poetry made under conditions which subordinated the individual to the community; and the ballads of the *Minstrelsy* are still in this class.

The first step from modern art back to communal conditions is made in passing from poetry written and read to poetry recited—or sung—and heard. Recited poetry can waken thought and

¹ The ballad "suggestion," however provocative and beautiful, is never akin to the beauty of the real ballad.

"She lingered by the Broken Brook,
She drank of Weary Well,"

makes one think of ballads, but in doing so ceases to have the ballad appeal.

sentiment; but that is not its primary and prevailing appeal. The listener is rarely solitary; and what is now called an "audience" makes at once for emotional community, calling for cumulative impression, for repetition, and for progress by omitted details, qualities which are shunned by the art of written poetry, but which atone for their lack of suggestion by chances for gesture and emphasis in double working upon the eye and the ear. Now, these ballads of the *Minstrelsy* were handed down by recitation or song. Exceptions are unimportant. To trace this or that passage to a known and near source of composition, to expose Buchan's "wight of Homer's craft" as a kind of Mr. Jorkins, says nothing to the case; counterfeits prove the coin. If, then, these ballads, which Scott gathered with such care, show a measure of communal rather than individual traits, as they do, and if their appeal is to emotional community rather than to personal sentiment, is it not logical to attribute the presence of one set of qualities, the absence of another set, to the conditions under which these songs were made and then recited or sung? Is it not highly illogical to assume that an initial literary effort, the poetry that is written to be read, created the assumed communal qualities antecedent to the communal conditions? Such a supposition would be accepted in no other science than that of poetry. And what becomes of Mr. Smith's "*literary survival or réchauffé . . . of certain pre-existing literary forms?*" Warmed-up literary material might pass; but "warmed-up literary forms" is more than a hard saying. It defies common-sense and the facts in the case. Good stories wander everywhere. But the matter of a ballad, the tale it tells, is not the ballad. What "pre-existing literary forms," pray, are "warmed-up" in that pretty ballad¹ which is almost certainly the old tale of Hero and Leander passing through a hundred changes to its Westphalian version? Prince and princess pine for each other; deep waters intervene; love finds out the way; a *falske rune*, or witch, quenches the light; the prince is drowned, and the princess is broken-hearted. What follows has neither Antipater's conciseness nor Marlovian breadth; it takes the ballad way:

¹ REIFFERSCHEID, *Westfälische Volkslieder* (1879), p. 3.

"O Moder, sede se, Moder,
 min Ogen dot mi der so weh,
 mag ick der nich gahn spazeren
 an de Kant van de ruskende See?"

"O Dochter, sede de Moder,
 allene sallst du der nich gahn,
 weck up dinen jungensten Broder,
 un de soll mit di gahn."

"Min allerjungeste Broder,
 dat is so 'n unntüsel Kind,
 he schüt wol alle de Vüglkes
 de an der Seekante sind." . . .

Rebuff of this excuse follows, and then four exactly corresponding stanzas, with incremental repetition, about the youngest sister. The third of the series is decisive, of course, with a fine climax of the increment:

"O Moder, sede se, Moder,
 min Herte dot mi der so weh!
 lat annere gahn na de Kerken,
 ick bet an de ruskende See!"

Then the fisherman, and the body of the prince, and death. But the ballad is not in the tale; it is in the still small communal voice, in that cumulative appeal, that echo of communal emotion, it is in the singing¹ and in the hearing. And whence come these elements of the actual ballad, if not from the conditions under which poetry was made and sung in the unlettered homogeneous community? What pre-existing literary forms explain them? If Mr. Smith asks, as we all ask, why the older ballads are not preserved, why this "literary form" seems to spring up suddenly about the fifteenth century, we point to ample proof that popular ballads had existed but failed of record. Where, indeed, are the Anglo-Saxon ballads? *Urgentur longa nocte*, save for a faint glimpse of their matter in the chronicles of a William of Malmesbury. Art had not come to their rescue as actual poems. And why are fifteenth-century ballads handed down? First, because art did come to their rescue; secondly, because oral tradition of a given vernacular reaches back to those days,

¹ Professor E. H. Meyer, of Freiburg, told me that the motive of the third stanza of this ballad — where the *Rune* comes in — was worked into one of the great German symphonies.

and no farther. Finally, how does one know that the ballad, with these communal elements, really existed in early stages of poetic evolution? Because, by happy chance here and there, as with the Faroe case, one can see this early stage of the process and surprise a communal ballad in the making. More than this, one argues by analogy with the drama. Aristotle's account of the classical drama as developed out of chorus and communal improvisation rimes exactly with this theory of ballad origins. Carry Mr. Smith's or Mr. Henderson's theory to its logical conclusion, and it falls softly but surely into the bosom of Count de Maistre; primitive culture, beginnings of civilization amid savagery, are a myth of the sociologists, and barbarism is itself a *réchauffé* of pre-existing civilizations.

But Mr. Henderson calls us back to the material of the *Minstrelsy*. What are these ballads? Representations of the communal ballad, crossed by a deal of rude or polite art, along with considerable changes, additions, and arrangements of the editor. One will not find here a communal ballad, but one will find the communal ballad—entered, it is true, on its last stage as a living species of poetry. The late Professor ten Brink admirably defined old and vanished balladry as a making which “oscillated between production and reproduction.” Preserved only by a mingling of individual art, this old communal ballad begins with the smallest possible amount of production—one thinks, for matter, of the so-called cumulative songs; for style, of incremental repetition as developed out of refrains—to the greatest possible amount of reproduction; and gradually reverses this proportion, until the communal element has too little energy of its own, and too little aid from social conditions, to keep up its life. Then the ballad is dead. Now, the tradition which keeps this old ballad alive is at its best in popular memory; but it may also fall into professional hands. Then results what is called the minstrel ballad. Most of the historical ballads in Scott's *Minstrelsy* are of this class, and are often referred by Professor Child and others to the minstrel's actual making; perhaps a better phrase would be “minstrel's control.”¹ Here, of course, new subject-matter, new con-

¹ See the writer's *Old English Ballads*, pp. 311 ff.

ditions, and individual control reduce to a subordinate position those old elements of the ballad as a species. Refrains vanish; repetition is less insistent; recitation or individual chanting supersedes the song; and improvisation, if employed, has grown professional and almost thaumaturgic in purpose, the trick of a trade. Cumulative appeal, so far as iteration is concerned, becomes faint; whether the record fails to show what recitation allowed in this respect, one cannot say. Editors and printers abhor repetition. These orally transmitted chronicle ballads are taken down, but not until literary contamination has been at work; for the minstrel loves to pose as a rustic bard. Before print indeed, and before the general use of writing, the minstrel easily turned poet. Widsith, Deor, blind Bernlef, the poet of the *Heliand*, even Caedmon, are examples of this development. Under more modern conditions minstrels degenerate, lose caste, and fairly come upon the parish, like their wares; an interesting survival of this sort is furnished by the German bard of thirty years ago, who made a song¹ about Saarbrücken, and went on to sing every battle of the war along with his regular *mordgeschichten*. He fell on evil times, "Mordgeschichtenbesitzer Erb," and could have envied even the lot of his Scottish brethren a century ago. To these, indeed, we owe such a ballad as the "Rookhope Ryde."² "Composed," says Scott, "in 1596"—but certainly not in its present form—it was taken down by Ritson from the chanting of George Collingwood, a very old man. He died in 1785. Minstrelsy itself, not to speak of the ballad, is here in nearly its last stage. Of ballad elements one finds, besides barrenness of style, only the monotonous chant, and the occasional ghost of an old clan emotion as names of persons and places are droned out: "George Carrick and his brother Edie," the "Weardale men," "Harry Corbyl." The last stanza is that familiar minstrel tag, which has beguiled sundry scholars into a hasty inference about origins, but which, I am glad to say, even Mr. Gregory Smith³ brushes aside as alien to the real ballad. There

¹ "Lied auf die Besetzung Saarbrückens durch die Franzosen." See CARL KÖHLER, *Zeitschr. für Volkskunde*, Vol. VIII (1898), pp. 223 ff.

² HENDERSON, Vol. II, pp. 130 ff.

³ *Transition Period*, pp. 229 f. On the "I" in ballads see *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 182 ff.

is no repetition, no lilt in the verse, no refrain; the minstrel has killed the ballad with clumsy kindness. Contrast the swing and the communal emotion, and the fine appeal of a ballad like "The Baron of Brackley"! In "Dick o' the Cow," another old ballad of this minstrel class, communal life is more astir; but they are all enfeebled offshoots of that old stock which, under far nobler graftings of art, grew into epic and finally into romance.

The next division of his collection, indeed, Scott calls by the name of Romantic. Here the old communal emotion, the old elements, are in a better case; that incipient art which has preserved them is in full sympathy with their original charm and appeal. It plays over the surface, and leaves almost intact the repetitions, the refrains, the ballad texture. Verging on the lyric, these ballads show a better symmetry and a smoother finish than one finds in the chronicle ballad, or, to be frank, than one could have found in the orginal communal song. Tradition, and that lyric quality which all popular use imposes upon such material, have sung them into their smoothness; but art has helped. "Sir Patrick Spens," communal in its structure, in its appeal, in its distinctively collective and impersonal emotion, has nevertheless in its form and finish suggestions of individual art. If Mr. Henderson wishes to say "doctored" of this ballad, of "Lord Randal" and the rest, as he does of "Edward," I shall not dispute about the word. The doctor in the case is not the parent. I think, however, that here is no real doctoring, but only the result of a change of air. In a wider emotional range such ballads lose their local awkwardness, their rusticity, and come closer to their lyric of art. Something of the artistic suggestion dear to individual lyric hovers about them, as it does also about those few but exquisite ballads of the supernatural like "The Wife of Usher's Well;" but this artistic suggestion is largely evoked from the modern reader, and is not a part of the old ballad appeal. The modern reader cannot escape his romantic and imaginative training. They have no personal sentiment in them, these ballads, no "lyric ~~cry~~" of the modern type; they all lead back to the emotions of the throng and of the clan. Nowhere does one feel this communal quality so strongly as in the group of kin-tragedies,

such as "The Cruel Sister," a group very scantily represented in Scott's collection. "The Twa Brothers," "Child Maurice," even a half-spoiled traditional ballad like "Bewick and Graham," point unerringly back, not to the wrecks of romance, but to the beginnings of poetry in the singing and dancing throng.

Has not criticism of the ballad come at last to a point where it can break the deadlock of two hostile propositions, each in itself fortified by a confident appeal to facts and the ordinary sense of truth? Common-sense lies in the proposition that a distinct poem, a sequence of expressions in rhythmic form which tell a definite story or voice an intelligent thought, implies under modern conditions a distinct poet who has uttered them in that shape. Common-sense lies, too, in the proposition that there are elements in the ballad as a literary fact which cannot be explained by the modern conception of a poem. Certain masterpieces of the past are conceded by all critics to be impossible for modern poetry to reproduce, not because the particular creative genius of them does not happen to appear, but because the conditions under which they came to be have disappeared in the evolution of society and of art itself. There is no real opposition between the modern view and the historical estimate. We can cheerfully render unto that modern Caesar, the individual poet, all that poetry now implies. We should as cheerfully concede something to communal conditions of the past. In the present revolt against democracy of every sort, we are fain to exalt unduly the realm of individual power; and we are close upon the commission of a sort of scientific crime when we assert that no permanent result has been achieved for criticism by that great democratic impulse in literature which began about the middle of the eighteenth century, found its prophet in Herder, its teachers in F. A. Wolf, the Grimms, the Schlegels, Lachmann, and many another, which put forth its creed along with distinct achievements of investigation that have never been surpassed, which could boast in these latter days, and within the limits of modern philology, of such scholars as ten Brink, Child, Gaston Paris, and which now faces its end in mere derision. For a while, only particular teachings were attacked; the present move-

ment is against the whole spirit and significance of the democratic school. Surely in vain! Mistakes and extravagances beset the doctrine of the older school, and must be cleared away. The immaculate conception of poetry, the people that make an epic and the song that sings itself, are not defensible ideas. But the claim for communal poetry as a fact in the evolution of literature, a claim amply supported by the new sciences of sociology and ethnology, is a claim that can be defended, and will one day come to full recognition. In the foregoing pages I have tried to put the general claim in terms which are in accord with modern criticism as well as with modern science; and I have essayed within narrower lines to give a reasonable account of the relations which link the ballad to primitive and frankly communal poetry.

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CARLYLE'S LIFE OF SCHILLER.

In Kühler's exhaustive study on Carlyle and Schiller¹ the statement is made that, owing to the absence of the *London Magazine* (1823-24) in the principal libraries of Germany, the *Life of Friedrich Schiller*, as it appeared in book form (1825), could not be compared with the original form in the *London Magazine*.

Contrary to the assumption of Kühler, not only the appendix and some notes were added in 1825, but the text was modified and increased in more than one way. These changes may be of interest to close students of Carlyle, and hence the chief ones are herewith presented.

In regard to the text: Almost all of the translations in verse appeared for the first time when the *Life* was republished in book form.

From *Don Carlos* the *London Magazine* quotes only nine lines, beginning with:

Look round and view God's lordly universe.

In the sixth line of this quotation the wording was changed from "He leaves to will" to "He leaves Free-will," and in the last two lines from

The rustling of a leaf alarms King Philip,
The Lord of Christendom must quake at every virtue,

to its present reading, which is closer to the German original.

From *Wallenstein* Carlyle inserted in the *London Magazine* only the short translations scattered through several pages of the text preceding the first long extract from *Piccolomini*, and substituted the very last quotation:

This kingly Wallenstein, whene'er he falls

for the following words: It is almost as if we viewed the ponderous swaying of some high majestic tower about to fall.

¹Leipzig dissertation, 1902, p. 17. The second part of this study has just appeared in *Anglia*, Bd. XXVI, Heft 3.

Again, from *The Maid of Orleans* he quoted merely the two lines:

On the soil of France he sleeps, as does
A hero on the shield he would not quit.

This rendering is somewhat better than the earlier translation in the *London Magazine*, which read:

On the soil of France in death reposes
As a hero on the shield he would not quit.

The paragraph following this citation Carlyle added when he decided to insert the five scenes from the above-mentioned drama.

And lastly in discussing *Wilhelm Tell* he tells the story of the *appelschufsszene* in the *London Magazine*, instead of giving it all in translation.

Besides these poetic extracts, four additions in prose were made: the introductory portion of Goethe's paper entitled "Happy Incident,"¹ in which the poet discusses his attitude toward Schiller (pp. 92-94);² the extracts from *Naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* and from the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (pp. 198, 199, 200-203); the long paragraph in which Carlyle pleads for Kant's philosophy as presented in Schiller's miscellaneous essays (pp. 112-14).

At least five notes were appended to the text in 1825: on p. 7, in which Carlyle quotes the curds-and-cream anecdote from Schiller's *Leben* (Heidelberg, 1817); on p. 25, where he speaks of the obnoxious passage in *The Robbers*, "Go to the Grisons," etc.; on p. 99, where he calls attention to Schiller's historical and philosophical essays; on p. 114, "Are our hopes from Mr. Coleridge always to be fruitless?" etc.; on p. 170, a quotation from Doering.

In addition to the alterations above mentioned, Carlyle substituted words and phrases at various places, and even, now and then, whole sentences. All these modifications would seem to indicate that the *Life of Schiller* when published in 1825 was not a reprint of the articles as they appeared in the *London Magazine*, but a carefully revised and enlarged biography.

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¹ The paragraph immediately preceding this quotation as well as the following one are also wanting in the *London Magazine*. Such transitional passages were, of course, necessarily inserted in several places.

² Centenary edition of CARLYLE'S WORKS, Vol. XXV, 1890.

OLD ENGLISH NOTES.

I.

BEHYDIGNES, "A DESERT."

In Somner's *Dict. Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659) and in Lye's *Dict. Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* (1772) we find a *behydignys*, *desertum*, and thence the word with this meaning assigned to it found its way into all the later dictionaries, down to the most modern ones, in which it is generally brought into connection with *hydan*, "to hide." I think I can show that there is no real authority for a *behydignes*, "a desert," and also how the error arose. Somner gives the word and its meaning without any reference, but Lye adds *Ps. 28, 7*, and his source¹ as well as Somner's is evidently John Spelman's *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus*, which appeared in 1640, nineteen years before the publication of Somner's dictionary. Spelman's text (from a MS in his own possession, now MS Stowe in the British Museum) reads *Vox domini concutientis desertum*, the last word being glossed *westen*. On the margin he gives the variant *behydignys* from MS C (now MS Ff. i. 23 in the Cambridge University Library), and this of course led the dictionary makers to believe that in MS C the Latin word *desertum* occurred and was glossed by *behydignys*. But a reference to this MS shows that its Latin text does not read *desertum* (the Gallican reading), but *solitudinem* (the Roman reading). Thus a gloss *desertum*, *behydignes*, does not exist at all.

For completeness' sake it may be well to give the readings of all the MSS:

MS Vespasian A. 1 has *solitudinem*, glossed by *bihyggnisse*.

MS Junius 27 has *solitudinem*, glossed by *bihydignesse*.

MS Ff. i. 23. has *solitudinem*, glossed by *behydignys*.

MS Royal 2. B. 5 has *solitudinem*, glossed by *westen*.

The remaining six MSS (MS Stowe 2, MS Vitellius E. 18, MS Tiberius C. 6, MS Arundel 60, MS Salisbury 150, MS Lambeth 427) all read *desertum*, glossed by *westen*.

¹ Whether direct or through the medium of Junius's collections is immaterial.

It is obvious that the glosses in the first three MSS go back to one archetype, and also that it originated in the glossator's wrongly reading *solutudinem* as *solicitudinem*,¹ for that is the meaning of the word; compare my *Old English Glosses*, I, 5430, *sollicitudo, bihydines* (the Brussels MS has *bighydignys*), and I, 906, *sollicitudinis, bihydine* (MS Brussels *bihyd*). Compare also Matth. (Rushworth), 13, 22, *sollicitudo, behygnis*, and the Vercelli MS fol. 90b, *Ac utton we nu forþan ure sylfra lif mid myle egesan and mid myle behygndesse geseon and sceawian ure sylfra lif and geearnian we mid godum daedum*, etc.

The further question arises: Should the word be written with the prefix *be-* or *bī-*? The majority of the instances given, with their *bi-* or *big-*, decidedly point to the latter, and this is confirmed by the spellings of the adjective and adverb in Beda, which I here cite according to page and line from Miller's edition:

- P. 282, l. 29: *bighydgig* T, *bygg-* B,² *bi-* O, *bī-* Ca.
- P. 466, l. 26: *behydegæsta* T, *be-* B.
- P. 66, l. 22: *bihygdelice* T, *big-* B, *be-* O, *be-* Ca.
- P. 210, l. 32: *bighygdelice* T, *be-* B.
- P. 336, l. 33: *bihygdelice* T, *big-* B, *bi-* O, *big-* Ca.
- P. 380, l. 22: *bighydgilice* T, *big-* B, *bi-* C, *big*, O, Ca.

The evidence is thus decidedly in favor of *bī-*.

II.

HLOSE, "A PIGSTY."

In a passage in the so-called *Gerefra* (*Anglia*, IX, 261) we read, among the various duties to be performed in autumn, "*fald weoxian, scipena behweorfan and hlosan eac swa.*" Liebermann translates *hlosan* by "schutzdach bauen" with a query, and adds in a note: "falls aus *hleo* (obdach, schirm) gebildet. Oder vorgänger von *looze* (schweinestall) bei Halliwell?" This latter suggestion is undoubtedly right, and indeed the context points to the same conclusion; the *fald* is the "sheepfold," the *scipena* are the "shippens" (cowhouses), and as a third we should naturally expect the places for housing the pigs. That

¹ I see that SWEET in his *Oldest English Texts*, p. 573, has noticed the scribe's confusion of *solutudo* with *solicitudo* in the *Vespasian Psalter*.

² I give the variants of the prefix only.

the word really does mean "pigsty" is confirmed by its occurrence in a gloss (Wright-Walker, 204²): *Ceniluti* (read *ceni*, *luti*, with Sievers, *Anglia*, XIII, 320) *swina hlose*. It is quite possible that the gloss has been assigned to a wrong lemma, or the glossator may have been thinking of the usual dirt in pigsties. The modern dialectal word *leuze* (pronounced *lüz*),¹ "a pigsty," is found in Somerset and Devon, and its present pronunciation points to an Old English long close *ō*.¹

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UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
June, 1903.

LANCE SUR FAUTRE.

SINCE the publication of my article on "Lance sur fautre" in MODERN PHILOLOGY, October, 1903, a new passage has come to my knowledge, through the kindness of Professor T. A. Jenkins, which illustrates my theory better than any of those quoted before. It can be found in Foerster's edition of "Li chevaliers as deus espees," vss. 4675-83, and reads:

Parle orent en tel maniere
Entr'els, puis se traissent arriere
Et ont les cheuaus adrecies,
S'ont les escus auant sacies
Et mueuent li uns contre l'autre,
Si metent les lances sus fautre
Et de fautre sous les aissieles,
Andeus les missent en astieles
Si tost comme il s'entrecontrerent.

I should also like to correct a misprint which occurred on p. 1 of my above-mentioned article. In l. 9 "Old English" should be replaced by "Old French."

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¹Cf. WRIGHT (*Dial. Dict.*, III, 584), who suggests connection with *lew* "a shelter, etc.,," Old Engl. *hléo*, but its occurrence in O. E. as *hlose* disproves that. Note that the development of O. E. *hléo* to the modern *lew* presupposes the same shifting of stress that we have in Modern English *lose* from O. E. *-lēosan*.

MÜSPILLI.

THE origin and meaning of O.H.G. *müspilli*, O.S. *müdspellī*, *mütspellī*, have been subjects for much discussion among Germanic scholars, and there has been no lack of theories. The explanations offered are widely different with respect to the former, but very similar with respect to the latter. For whatever the origin of the word may be, it is pretty generally agreed that it means some catastrophe closely connected with the end of the world or the end itself. I shall here cite the words of A. Olrik,¹ whose discussion of the matter in his study of the Ragnarok myth¹ is one of the latest contributions to the subject; he has no doubt sifted all the evidence, but he accepts or offers no explanation for the origin of the word:

Concerning the real meaning of this word philologists have expressed widely different opinions; and neither in the German nor in the Northern sources does it seem that anyone has the slightest conception of its origin. But of its value as a word there reigns no doubt: *mütspellī* means the same thing which otherwise in these poems is designated as the "day of retribution," "doomsday," "this light's (this world's) last day," "this world's end." More specifically it means the destruction of this world in its suddenness and in its terror. Since the world-fire belongs to the Christian doctrine concerning the destruction of the world, it is of course included, but *mütspellī* is never directly connected with the fire.

If this be accepted as a fair statement summing up all that an impartial scholar may with safety say concerning the crux, the problem which still remains to be settled may perhaps be stated as follows: How is the compound *müspilli* to be accounted for? What did it originally mean? Did its meaning change, and if so, how has it come to mean what it seems to mean, according to the opinion of Olrik and of other scholars? If its original meaning was

¹"Om Ragnarok," *Aarbøger for nord. Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Vol. XVII (1902), 3. Heft, p. 223. Cf. the following definitions of *müsilli*: BRAUNE, *Ahd. Lesebuch*, "der weltuntergang, jüngste tag;" STEINMEYER, in M. und S., *Denkmäler*, Vol. II, p. 38, "weltbrand, weltuntergang durch feuer;" in the *Heliand* the meaning is, he says, "schon vorblasst und abgeschwächt;" MÜLLENHOFF, *D.A.*, Vol. V, p. 66, "Das feuer das dereinst die welt zerstören wird hiesst bei den Baiern im achten, neunten jahrhundert müspilli, bei den Altsachsen müdepelli;" HEYNE, *Heliand*, 281, "feuer des jüngsten tages, weltbrand;" BREMAGHEL, *Heliand*, p. 214, "Weltuntergang;" PIPER, *Die alts. Bibeldichtung*, p. 207, "Weltuntergang;" so also HOLTHAUSEN, *As. Elementarbuch*, p. 266.

the same as its meaning in the texts in which it has been preserved to us, we should have a comparatively simple (though not necessarily an easy) problem before us, namely, to ascertain the identity of each element of the word. If the original meaning has been lost, we should not only have to identify the two elements of the word, but also take into account complex, subtle, perhaps curious changes in meaning, in which misconceptions may not be excluded as possibilities. If the word be of heathen origin, there is a possibility that its use in the Christian poems *Heliand* and *Müspilli* may be "incorrect;" Christian poets may have misconstrued the word, because they may have had no conception of its origin, and if this be so, who shall say that one poet understood it in precisely the same way as another poet? If it be of Christian origin, the same possibility remains. A technical term based on some word or suggestion in Christian material dealing with the end of the world may not have had an absolutely fixed value, but may have had a considerable scope of meaning in the sphere to which it belonged. I think that one may grant the possibility that absolutely certain knowledge about the origin of the word need not necessarily bring with it a certain knowledge of what the authors of *Heliand* and *Müspilli* thought it meant, whether it was with them a general term embracing many catastrophes at the end of the world, or a special term for only one of them.

Having found, as I shall try to show, that the word is of Christian origin, I need hardly discuss at length the attempts that have been made to show that it is of heathen origin. Kögel¹ explains *mū-* in *mūspilli*, which he thus regards as the original form of the word, as identical with *mū-* in *mū-werf*—"maulwurf," i.e., "erdauwerfer." "Die bedeutung 'erde' ergiebt sich aus dem synonymum *mult-uurf* Graff I, 1042 zu *molta* got. *mulda*." The second element *spilli* is explained as related to O.E. *spillan*, "verzehren, verderben, zu grunde richten," and the meaning of the whole word is therefore, according to Kögel, "erdvernichtung." Neither the one nor the other equation is convincing; see Bugge, *Studier*, p. 419; Detter, *Beitr.*, Vol. XXI, p. 107;

¹In PAUL's *Grundriss*, Vol. II², p. 111.

Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*, III², p. 382, who rejects all theories.¹ Kögel further explains O.S. *mūd(t)spelli* as due to the influence of the word which appears in M.H.G. as *mot*, "schwarze torfartige erde, moor, morast," cf. *mutworf*. Kauffman,² who accepts Kögel's interpretation of *mū-* ("erdhaufen, hügel," O.E. *mūga, mūwa*, "heap," cf. Kluge, *Etym. Wtb.*, s. v. *maulwurf*), holds the strange doctrine that O.H.G. *mūspilli* and O.S. *mūd(t)spelli* are two distinct words, distinct in meaning and in origin:

Hier [in the *Hēliand*] haben wir es auch mit einem andern wort zu tun. . . . Man wird daher gut tun mit ahd. *muspilli* zwar anord. *muspell* zu vereinigen, aber as. *mutspell* vorerst fernzuhalten, denn es liegt nicht bloss ein anderes wortgebilde, sondern auch die verschiedenheit der wortbedeutung zu tage.

He has reached this desperate conclusion because he finds Braune's definition³ of *mūspilli* as "weltuntergang, jüngster tag" impossible for the Bavarian poem, but correct for the *mūd(t)spelli* of the *Hēliand*. In the Norse mythology, he says, the world is really not destroyed, but sinks into the sea (*sigr fold i mar*, *Vsp.*, 40, 2; Jónsson's ed.), and hence *mūspell*, *mūspilli* cannot mean "erdvernichtung." The word *spilli* must be related to German *spalten*, and the meaning of the compound is therefore, in Kauffmann's opinion, "erdspaltung." What to do with O.S. *mud(t)spelli* is a question which he does not answer.

Even if it should be granted that the equation *spilli*—"vernichtung, zerstörung" or "spaltung" is a good one, nothing that has been brought forward in regard to the word *mū* is sufficient to render it at all probable that it might have had or got the value of "mundus, world;" nor is it any clearer that *mud(t)spelli* (*>mūspilli*) passed from the meaning "heidebrand" to "weltbrand" (Martin, to whom the first element is cognate with English *mud*). But the theories of the identity of *spilli* with O.E. *spillan*⁴ or German *spalten*, are merely phonological speculations and form only wretched foundations for the building up of any plausible explanation. The only thing that is certain about *mū*, (in *mū-*

¹ A theory similar to Kögel's is that of MARTIN, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 186; cf. also WOESTE, *Zeitschr. f. d. Philologie*, Vol. IX, p. 219.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 5 ff.

³ Ahd. *Lesebuch*, 4. Aufl., 1897.

⁴ O.E. *spillan* < O.N. *spilla* = O.S. *spildian*.

werf), if it indeed be identical with O.E. *mūha*, *mūga*, *mūwa*, is that it never appears anywhere in the sense postulated,¹ and the same is also true of M.H.G. *mot*, English *mud*. The definitions of *spilli* as "vernichtung" and as "spaltung" are born of a desire to make the original meaning of the word fit as closely as possible to the meaning it seems to have in the texts. So we have two improbable theories for the whole compound, one for each element, and it is no wonder that neither Kögel's nor Kauffman's solution of the problem has met with wide acceptance.²

Since the word *mūspilli*, *mūd(t)spilli*, first occurs in Christian environments it is most natural to infer that its source may most likely be found in Christian material. No one will find any fault with this inference. But if anyone shall reject my proof for the correctness of it, he cannot use the Christian setting of the word as proof that it is of heathen origin.

From this inference I pass to another which seems very reasonable from a linguistic point of view: *mūspilli*, *mūd(t)spilli*, *mūspell* are one and the same word and are derived from one ground-form. The various forms of the word are most easily accounted for by assuming that the first element was originally **mūð-*, which could naturally become *mū-* on account of the similarity between voiceless *ð* and *s*. In O.S. *mūd-* and *mūt-* appear for the same reason that *ð* in *sōð* becomes *d* or *t* in *sodspel*, *Hēliand*, 3838, Cott. MS., *suotspel*, München MS.³ If **mūð-* was the first element of the word, it follows that it is a borrowed word in the Norse sources of a hundred years later (*Völuspá*, *Lokasenna*), as well as in the Bavarian poem *Mūspilli*. From Low German it may have traveled both northward and southward, as many scholars have assumed.

Our next step must be the consideration of the identity of the parts and the meaning of the whole. If the word was originally **mūð-spelli*, then we may reasonably say that this word does look

¹ The word is well represented in the Scandinavian languages, but never, so far as I am aware, does any usage of it support Kögel's theory.

² E. H. MEYER, *Die Mythologie der Germanen* (Strassburg, 1903), pp. 499 f., gives up the problem in despair: "Das wort, von dem kaum der zweite teil *spell* mit einiger sicherheit als rede, botschaft, weissagung erklärt werden kann, der erste teil *mū*, *mud*, *mut* aber rätselhaft bleibt, mag schon heidnisch gewesen und ein grosses feuer bedeutet haben."

³ BUGGE, *Studier*, p. 420, footnote.

very much like *mūð*, "mouth," in composition with *spelli*, which may be a by-form of *spell* (cf. O.S. *beddi*: *bed*), and the identity of the second element is thus determined by the first; its precise meaning it may be difficult or impossible to know without a knowledge of the origin of the whole word, but it is, at any rate, the same word as O.E. *spell*, "saying, message, tale, discourse." As a word meaning "something spoken by word of mouth" it is analogous to several words cited by Detter¹ in this connection: O.E. *mūð-hæl*, "salutary words" (cf. Dan. and Norw. *mund-held*, "talemaade som en person idelig fører i munden"²), O.N. *munnrøða*, "rede," Du. *mondgesprek*, "gespräch," German *mundsprache*, "mündliche verabredung." Each one of these has its own peculiar history to account for its special meaning, and if *müspilli* (<**mūðspelli*) means "something spoken by word of mouth," the problem is to discover what peculiar history it has had in order to account for its use in poems dealing with the end of the world.

It will be objected that **mūð-* in the hypothetical form **mūð-spelli* need not necessarily have been the original form word, just as O.E. *corn-trēow*, "cornel tree," has nothing to do with *corn* except by popular etymology, for it is only Latin *cornulum* remade, and this should rather have yielded **horn-trēow*. And just here someone might urge Bugge's theory,³ which has recently been essentially restated by Golther.⁴ The first element **mūð-* arose, says Bugge, from a **mund-spelli* in which **mund-* is borrowed from Latin *mundus*, "world." This **mund-* was by Saxons or Frisians identified with the word *mund*, "mouth," used by neighboring High Germans, and thus changed into their own native *muð*. The meaning of **mund-spelli* was "prophecy concerning the end of the world, *consummatio mundi, finis mundi*." An essential part of this prophecy was the destruction of the world by fire, and so *mudspelli* came to mean "world-fire."

That a word meaning prophecy concerning a certain catastrophe might come to mean the catastrophe itself is a process for

¹"Müspilli," *Beitr.*, Vol. XXI, p. 108.

²See FALK OG TORP, *Etym. Odb.*, s. v.

³*Studier*, p. 420.

⁴*Germanische Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 539 ff.; but see the "Nachträge," p. 660, where he displays signs of weakness of faith in the identity of the first element with *mundus*.

which many analogies could be mentioned (cf. O.E. *dōm*, N.E. *doom*, *fate*, etc.), and it is not here that the weakness of Bugge's theory lies. It is his theory concerning the origin of the element **mūð-*, which must, it seems to me, be regarded as highly improbable on account of its complex character. There is no **mundspelli*, but we may be reasonably sure of a **mūðspelli*; there is, moreover, no Latin loan-word **mund* (< *mundus*); and we cannot feel certain that Low Germans, who possessed many words ending in -*und* (*mund*, "hand," for example), would be very likely to change **mund-* to *mūð-* in a word which need not necessarily have called up the idea of "mouth."

In his article on *Mūspilli* in *Beitr.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 107 f., Detter avoids the circuitous route of Bugge in his search for the identity of **mūð*. He allows the genuineness of **mūð-* and accepts it at its face value. The first element is *mūð*, "mouth," the second means "verkündigung," and the whole, "mündliche verkündigung," is a "freie [here Kauffmann¹ adds an!] wiedergabe" of Latin *prophetia*, "prophecy concerning the end of the world." The difficulty here is to find sufficient proof for such a translation. Selma Dorff² has recently tried to show that *mūspilli* is a "synonymum von *urdēli*, *urteili*, der verdammende spruch des richters. Es ist die poetische wiedergabe des neutestamentlichen *κρίμα*, das lateinisch mit *judicium*, *damnatio*, von Luther wechselweise mit *urteil* und *gericht* übersetzt ist." Between Detter's "freie" and Selma Dorff's "poetische wiedergabe" there can be little choice. A prophecy would seem just as likely to be called a "mündliche verkündigung" as *κρίμα*, *judicium*, *gericht*, a "slow mouth-utterance."³ One might almost as well look for the origin of *mūspilli* in the voice of the trumpet,⁴ which some

¹ *Zeitschrift f. d. Phil.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 5.

² *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CX, p. 1.

³ SELMA DORFF, *ibid.*, p. 5: Goth. *spillōn*, O.H.G. *spellōn*, etc.—"langsam auseinandersetzend sprechen," especially so in pronouncing judgment.

⁴ Cf. Matt. 24:31: *mittel angelos suos cum tuba et voce magna*; Honorius: *angeli sonitu tubae terrible judicium Dei intonabunt* (cited by E. H. MEYER, *Völuspa*, p. 190); the Norwegian *Draumkvæde*, 33:

Det var sankte Såle-Mikkjel,
han bles i luren den lange:
Og no skal alle salinne
fram fry domen gango.

—*Norske Folkeviser*, ed. TH. LAMMERS, Kra., 1901, p. 14.

angel, Michael for instance, will put to his mouth on the last day when all men are summoned to doom.

At this point it may be mentioned that already Jakob Grimm, in the first edition of his grammar, it seems, glossed *mūspilli* "oris eloquium" (also "mutationis nuncius," as a suggestion on the assumption that *mūspilli* might be from an original **mut-spelli*), but without result, for in his *Mythology*¹ he gives another theory which, however, need not be reviewed here. It has seemed a simple matter to get thus far, but it is right here that difficulties begin, as the theories which have just been mentioned show: it has not been proved that the ground-form **mūðspellī* is correct, although it has been deduced by the application of rational principles of philology.

I shall now try to show that all those who have assumed an original form **mūðspellī*, with a meaning like Grimm's "oris eloquium," have been on the right track, and that particularly Bugge and Detter, in so far as the second element of the word is concerned, have come very near to what I believe to be the true origin of the word: *mūspilli*, **mūðspellī*, is an etymological translation of the Latin word *oraculum*, and its use in Christian poems dealing with the great events prophesied to take place at the end of the world (and in a sense "world-fire, world-end," or whatever the meaning may be in each case) is due to the presence, in northwestern Germany, either of a sibylline oracle in the Latin language or of citations from such an oracle in writings dealing with the same subject (*e. g.*, a homily, a treatise, a poem). In addition to what has already been said concerning the Christian setting² of the word in the German poems of the ninth century, it must here be emphasized that this really means a learned setting, for the Christian culture of the time was its highest learning; and this learning was dependent upon the Latin language for its existence. The O.H.G. poem *Müspilli* (so named by Schmeller) and the O.S. *Hēliand* are both learned poems and represent the highest culture of their time. They are the work of learned men, and these are incon-

¹ *Teutonic Mythology*, translated by STALLYBRASS, Vol. II, p. 809.

² Cf. KÖGEL, in PAUL's *Grundriß*², Vol. II, p. 111: "Nichts in dem gedicht mit einziger ausnahme des wortes *mūspilli* wurzelt noch in dem boden des heidentums."

ceivable without assuming the existence of learned predecessors. An etymological translation, such as I have mentioned, was surely within the bounds of the Christian learning of a much earlier time than that of the *Heliand* and the *Mispilli*. A very slight acquaintance with the Latin language would be sufficient to enable the creator of the term *mispilli* to recognize the similarity between Latin *oraculum* and *os* (*oris*, *ore*, *ora*, etc.), "mouth." The probability that this is the correct explanation of *mispilli* is, I believe, raised to a reasonable certainty by an actual case in which *oraculum* is etymologically described, in effect, as a "mouth-utterance," a **mūdspellī*: *Quid est enim oraculum? nempe voluntas divina hominis ORE ENUNCIATA*, Seneca, *Controv.*, 1 praef.¹ "What then is an oracle? Forsooth it is the divine will declared through the mouth of man." Seneca's *ore enunciata* corresponds as closely as possible to *mispilli*, and for the same reason: the Roman and the German are both thinking of the Latin word *os* (gen. *oris*), "mouth," and Seneca would hardly have come nearer to the German **mūdspellī*, conditioned as it is by the Germanic method of compounding words, if he had said *oris eloquium*.

Bugge² based his explanation of *mispilli* on the probable existence in northwestern Germany of a prophecy concerning *mundus* (**mundspellī*) and took occasion to express his agreement in opinion with Müllenhoff in his belief that the doctrine of the destruction of the world must have spread over the Germanic world in the form of a prophecy. Müllenhoff's statement is, as usual, very emphatic:

Die ansicht von dem künftigen weltuntergang, die uns das *mūspilli*—*mūdspellī* bei den Südgermanen verbürgt, kann in der germanischen welt nur in der form einer verkündigung und prophezeiung verbreitung gefunden haben, und dass weise frauen von anfang an ihrer annahmen, wie noch die Alemannin Thiota, der die mainzer synode im j. 847 den process machte (Myth.³ 78 f., 679), für sie mit ihrem ansehen eintraten und gewähr leisteten bis etwa andre sie ablösten, . . . dies ist eine folgerung der sich niemand entziehen wird.³

Also Detter, who considers *mispilli* a free translation of Latin *prophetia*, stands on the same ground. It would be futile

¹ ANDREWS, *Lat. Lex.*, s. v. ² *Studier*, pp. 418 f. ³ *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. V, pp. 67 f.

to try to guess in what particular form of literature the originator of the term *müspilli* found the word *oraculum*, "prophecy concerning the end of the world." Was it in a complete sibylline oracle, was it in a homily on the end of the world, or was it in a Latin poem on the same favorite subject? Whatever be the answer to this question, the following considerations will be pertinent to it.

The antique Christian Sibylline Oracles prophesy concerning the end of the world, and, in the words of Bang, "die begebenheiten der zukunft (werden) so gut wie ausschliesslich von einem biblischen gesichtspunkte aus behandelt."¹ The material of these oracles bearing on the end of the world may also be indicated through Bang's analysis of a few of them:

Orac. Sib. II, 156 fg.:

1. sittlicher verfall;
2. pest, hunger, krieg;
3. nacht legt sich über die erde;
4. weltbrand;
5. auferstehung;
6. das gericht kommt;
7. die frommen in das elysische land;
8. die gottlosen in den Tartarus.

Orac. Sib. IV, 152 fg.:

1. moralische verderbniss;
2. krieg;
3. getöse und gebrüll in der luft;
4. weltbrand;
5. auferstehung; eine neue erde entsteht;
6. das gericht kommt;
7. die gottlosen werden in den Tartarus gestürzt;
8. die frommen leben ein glückliches leben auf der neuen erde.

Orac. Sib. VII, 140 fg.:

1. moralische verderbniss;
2. krieg und verwüstung;
3. weltbrand;
4. tiefe nacht;
5. ein neues glückliches geschlecht wird erschaffen.²

¹BANG, *Völuspá und die sibyllinischen Orakel*, übersetzt von POESTON (Wien, 1880), pp. 7 f.

²BANG, *ibid.*, pp. 28 f.

To those who are unfamiliar with the character of the sibylline poetry the above will be sufficient to show that the possible early existence in Germany of such a poetry, in Latin, might have given occasion for the translation of the word *oraculum*, and they will also see why such a word should crop out in poetry dealing with the subject of the end, the destruction, of the world, the world-fire.

Was there such a sibylline poetry in the Middle Ages? The answer is affirmative, but the subject no doubt needs a fuller treatment than it has yet received. There was such a literature in the vernacular in Germany in the fourteenth century,¹ but with this we need not now concern us. Dr. Bang has in his *Et sibyllinsk Orakel fra Middelalderen* (Christiania, 1882)² published a critical text of a Latin sibylline oracle composed in the last part of the eleventh or first part of the twelfth century, presumably by a Lombard. He shows that this author has, among other sources, drawn upon a *Libellus de Antichristo* written by Adso, abbot in the cloister Moutier-en-Der, at the request of Queen Gerberga, sister of Otto I., between the years 949 and 954. This Adso has, according to his own statement, taken certain material from sibylline verses, "sicut in sibyllinis versibus habemus." Says Bang:³

There has therefore, in the time of Adso been in circulation a sibylline composition in verse. . . . This poetry is, it seems, the connecting link between Adso and the old (antique, Jewish-Christian-pagan) oracles, and it reveals indisputably the influence of these in its name-method.

Bang also tries to show that the oracle published by him contains many evidences of connection with the antique sibylline oracles, and that the similarities cannot be explained by assuming as connecting links the church Fathers with their citations from, or references to, the oracles, or certain mediæval tractates concerning them.

This does not, of course, prove the existence of a Latin sibylline oracle in northwestern Germany before the composition of the

¹ See Voot, "Ueber Sibyllen Weissagung," *Beitr.*, Vol. IV (1877), pp. 79 ff.

² In *Christiania Videnskabselskabs Forhandlinger*, No. 9. In the same series, No. 8, same year, is found also DR. BANG's *Bidrag til de Sibylliniske Oraklers og den Sib. Orakeldigtning & Middelalderen*.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.

Héiland and the *Müspilli*, but it shows that this form of literature was known in Germany at an early period. I have no doubt that more material will be brought forward on this point.

There remains to be mentioned one other matter which may have some bearing on this question. The existence of a poem of the character of *Völuspó* in the so-called *Elder Edda* suggests in this connection the thought that the type of poetry of which it is an example may have been due to foreign influence, just as the word *Müspell*, which occurs in it,¹ surely is of Low German origin. It is true that Bugge has removed the word *Müspell*, although it is found in all MSS, and in this he has been followed by most editors. Against this procedure A. Olrik enters an energetic protest,² chiefly on the ground that it is a violation of the principle that one must not seek to bring old sources into agreement with younger systematic presentations. Our understanding of the old mythological poetry must not always be determined by Snorre Sturluson's views, for he is clearly not a safe guide.³ From the point of view that has been gained with respect to the un-Germanic origin of the word *Müspell* we shall feel little inclined to insist upon the removal of the word. Through it we have gained some insight into the character of Norse mythology; it is a composite structure built up of widely different elements. The study of the *Völuspó* has had an unfortunate history. Scholars seem to have been intimidated to a certain extent by Müllenhoff's violent criticism of Bang and Bugge in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol.

¹ *Vsp.*, 35 (B. 51):

Kjöll ferr austan,
koma mono Müspells
of lög lýper,
en Loke stýrer.

(JÖNSSON's text with substitution of MS readings *austan* and *Müspells* for BUGGE's emendations *norþan* and *Helfjar*).

Cf. also *Lokasenna*, 42, 4: en es Müspells syner
ripa Myrkviþ yfer,
veizta þá, vesall, hvé vegr.

The conception of *Müspell* which is the basis for the expressions *Müspells lýber*, *syner*, *may*, as OLRIK, loc. cit., pp. 224 f., suggests, be due to a sentence like O. S. *Müspelles meginobar man ferid*; cf. SNORRE's *Müspells megrir*.

² Loc. cit., p. 222, footnote; see also SCHÖNING, *Doddsriger i nordisk Hedentro* (Kjøbenhavn, 1903), p. 47. KAUFFMANN, *Zeitschrift f. d. Philologie*, Vol. XXXV (1903), p. 405, is not inclined to follow Olrik on this point. Cf. on this matter also DETTER, *Die Völuspa* (Wien, 1899), p. 34.

³ To SNORRE *Müspell*, *Müspellsheimr* is a fire-world, not a world-fire.

V, and the theory which the former advanced with regard to the *Völuspá* has never received the attention it deserves. It matters little that Bang's guess that the author of *Völuspá* came into touch with the antique Sibylline Oracles in Ireland, either in the original or in an Irish translation,¹ has turned out to be improbable. I notice that Bugge still expresses his faith in the connection of the *Völuspá* with mediæval sibylline poetry:

Germanic heathendom was familiar with seeresses of supernatural powers, who were treated with respect. But the giant-fostered seeress in *Völuspá*, who turns her gaze toward the whole human race and meditates upon the fate of the world from its first beginning to its destruction and resurrection, has unquestionably Christian prototypes, and shows particular kinship with the sibyls of the Middle Ages.²

This will in time surely be universally recognized, even if it will not be insisted on, with Bugge (and Müllenhoff), that the "first germ of the poem is to be found there, where the word *Múspell* has its origin,"³ on account of the fact that "the prophecy of the völva is inseparable from the belief in the destruction of the world by fire, for which the particular term was *Múspell*." The origin of the word *Múspell* from the Latin word *oraculum* does not prove for the *Völuspá* direct connection with an *oraculum Sibyllae*. There may have been many connecting links, which it may be impossible for us to recognize. But the appearance of a word like *Múspell-oraculum* in the *Völuspá* (and in the *Lokasenna*, both of the tenth century) is surely significant for the question of foreign influence, and should, it seems to me, open the subject for renewed investigation and discussion.

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¹ *Völuspá*, pp. 42 f.

² *Home of the Eddic Poems*, tr. by SCHOFIELD (London, 1899), Introd., p. xxix; cf. also p. 11; see also GOLTHER, *Germanische Mythologie*, p. 653: "Zwar soll nicht behauptet werden, dass wort und begriff Völva aus der Sibylle abzuleiten sei, wol aber, dass eine nordische Völva, ein fahrendes zauberweib, als seherin und prophetin in so erhabenem stile nicht denkbar ist ohne das vorbild der Sibylle."

³ *Studier*, p. 421. I do not, of course, intend to impugn the essential correctness of the statement quoted, but rather to call attention to the need of a somewhat different formulation, and to take account of the possibly kaleidoscopic character of the poem with respect to prototypes and materials.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF LOCRINE.¹

TWO DRAMATISTS, Peele and Greene, have been seriously considered by modern critics in connection with the authorship of *Locrine*. The internal evidence furnished by this play and by the acknowledged writings, on the one hand, of Peele and, on the other, of Greene is, in my opinion, sufficient to establish the claims of the former. To present this evidence is the object of this paper.

Locrine was entered on the Stationers' Register by Thomas Creede, July 20, 1594.² No mention is there made of the author of the play. Under the supervision of an editor, "W. S."³ it was published in November or December of 1595.

The date of composition can be fixed as not earlier than 1590. Charles Crawford, in an article on "Edmund Spenser, 'Locrine,' and 'Selimus,'"⁴ showed undoubted borrowings in *Locrine* from Spenser's "The Ruines of Rome," "Visions of the World's Vanitie," "The Teares of the Muses," and "The Ruines of Time." Although two of these poems had probably been long known in manuscript copies, one, "The Teares of the Muses," was of more recent composition, and "The Ruines of Time" was certainly not written before 1589;⁵ and, if the statement in the article on "Spenser" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,⁶ signed by J. W. Hales and Sidney Lee, be correct, namely, that the death of Walsingham is lamented in the poem, then *Locrine* was not written earlier than 1590, the year of Walsingham's death. In fact, none of these poems was published before 1591, when they appeared in the *Complaints*, and it is extremely doubtful if the author of *Locrine* saw all of them before their appear-

¹ HAZLITT, *Doubtful Plays of Shakspeare* (London, 1887). All references to *Locrine* are to this edition.

² ARBEE'S *Transcript of the Registers*, etc. (London, October 1, 1875), Vol. II, p. 656.

³ The discussion of the identity of the initials "W. S." will not enter into this paper. There is no satisfactory reason for regarding him as the author of the play.

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, Series 9, Vol. VII (1901), pp. 61, 101, 142, 203, 261, 324, 384.

⁵ *Edmund Spenser*, Globe edition, 1890, pp. xliv, 480.

⁶ Vol. LIII, p. 391.

ance in that volume. Moreover, my study of the play and the discovery of undoubted dependence between it and Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* lead me to the conviction that the two plays were written, not only by the same author, but at about the same time and under the same influence—that of Marlowe—and that *Locrine* is the later of the two.

Of the two dramatists under consideration, Robert Greene was born about 1560 and died in 1592.¹ George Peele was born about 1552. He is known to have been alive in 1596, but was dead in 1598.²

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

On reading *Locrine* and the plays of Peele and Greene, I was at once struck by the marked resemblance in diction and manner of expression between *Locrine* and Peele's plays, and the equally marked difference in diction and manner of expression between *Locrine* and the plays of Greene. One of the most striking peculiarities of Greene's plays is the padding of his lines with redundant prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs, and the use of expressions fast becoming obsolete in his own time:

- “That though that they be clapped up in clay.”—*Alphonsus*.
- “To like so of the English monarch's son.”—*F. B. and F. B.*
- “To cease of this quarrel.”—*F. B. and F. B.*
- “But leaving these such glories as they be.”—*Orlando Furioso*.

Turning to *Locrine* and Peele, one sees a change to much greater compactness of expression. Comparatively few redundant words are used. Many of the expressions noted in Greene are not found in Peele or in *Locrine*, and the others are used sparingly. “If that,” equivalent to “if,” is found in the four of Greene's plays 23 times; it does not occur at all in *Locrine* or in the four plays of Peele (omitting the prose play *Old Wives' Tale*). “As that,” equivalent to “that,” occurs in Greene 15 times; I did

¹ The date of the composition of none of GREENE's plays is known. *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *Orlando Furioso*, *James IV.*, and *Alphonseus, King of Arragon* form the principal basis of my study of Greene for this discussion. All references to these plays are to DYCE's *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene and George Peele* (London, 1861).

² PEELE's *Arraignment of Paris* was published in 1584. *David and Bethsabe*, published in 1590, was probably written next. *Edward I.* was published in 1593. *The Battle of Alcazar*, published in 1594, is first mentioned in HENSLOWE's *Diary*, February 29, 1591-92. All references to Peele's works are to BULLEN'S *The Works of George Peele*, 2 vols. (London, 1888).

not find it in *Locrine*, or Peele. "As," meaning "that," and used as a relative after "so," is found 18 times in Greene, not at all in *Locrine*, and only twice in Peele. The accompanying table of these expressions (p. 4 below) does not represent by any means all such uses in Greene.

The totals are striking. Of the expressions noted, 11 instances of their use are found in Peele, 6 in *Locrine*, and 160 in Greene.

The use of "for to" with an infinitive illustrates the same difference between Greene on the one side, and *Locrine* and Peele on the other. Peele is as sparing of his use of "for to" as of the expressions noted above. In all his plays and poems I counted 12 instances. In *Locrine* it is used only 4 times. In the four plays of Greene it occurs 93 times.¹

I find some expressions of frequent use in *Locrine* common also to Peele, but not used by Greene. "Latest," "fell," "coal-black," "ugly," and "grim" are favorite adjectives in *Locrine*. These all occur in Peele. I found none of them in Greene, nor does Grosart give any of them in his glossary of Greene,² except "coal-black," which occurs in *Selimus*, wrongly, I think, ascribed to Greene.³ The expressions "grim Minos" and "grim Jupiter" occur both in *Locrine* and Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*. "Bowels" and "entrails," used often of inanimate nature as well as of parts of the body, are common. In *Locrine* "bowels" occurs 10 times; in Peele 11 times.⁴ In Greene it occurs only once—in *Orlando*

PEELE	Locrine-4	GREENE
<i>The A. of P.</i> 4		<i>O. F.</i> 4
<i>D. & B.</i>	Total 4	<i>James IV.</i> 12
<i>The B. of A.</i>		<i>F. B. & F. B.</i> 12
<i>Ed. I.</i> 6		<i>Alphonsus</i> 65
<i>O. W. Tale</i> 1		
<i>Poems</i> 1		Total 93
Total 12		

Note that in the table two apparent exceptions occur, PEELE's *Edward I.* and GREENE's *Orlando Furioso*. These may perhaps be accounted for by the fortunes of the manuscripts of these two plays. *Edward I.* has descended in a mutilated form and "the text throughout is vile," says BULLEN (*Peele's Works*, Vol. I, p. xxxii). *Orlando Furioso*, says DYCE, was printed from a very imperfect copy and much of the text has been supplied by other hands (*Works of Greene and Peele*, p. 31).

It is true that in *Sir Clymon and Sir Clomydes*, included by Dyce among Peele's plays, I found 76 "for to's." But this fact alone, aside from evidences of diction, style, and theme, and characterization, is conclusive against Peele's authorship of that play.

¹ *Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 1881-86, Vol. XV.

² "Fell" and "latest" are also used in *Selimus*.

³ *Edward I.*, once; *Poems*, twice; *D. & B.*, 8 times.

Furioso. "Entrails" occurs in *Locrine* 3 times; in Peele 4 times;¹ not at all in Greene. Neither of these words is in Groart's glossary.

FIGURES OF SPEECH.

The abundance of imagery in *Locrine* suggested a comparison with Peele's use of imagery. Taking Professor Carpenter's

	PEELE						LOCRISE						GREENE					
	A. of P.	D. & E.	B. of A.	Ed. I.	Total	A. of P.	D. & E.	B. of A.	Ed. I.	Total	A. of P.	D. & E.	B. of A.	Ed. I.	Total			
"As" = "that"	18	
"As that" = "that"	15	
"As if that" = "as if"	3	
"An" = "if"	7	
"An if" = "and if"	1	
"And why" = "why"	1	
"After that" = "after"	1	
"For that" = "because"	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
"For why" = "because"	1	
"For because" = "because"	1	
"For yet" = "yet"	1	
"How that" = "how"	1	
"How that" = "that"	1	
"If that" = "if"	1	
"If so" = "if"	1	
"Since that" = "since"	1	
"So that" = "if"	1	
"Such" (redundant)	1	
"Then as" = "as"	1	
"Up" (redundant)	1	
"When so" = "when"	2	
"Whereas" = "where"	2	
"That" = "because"	2	
"How" = "as"	2	
Total	1	..	3	7	11	6	25	26	38	71	100						100	

*Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Elizabethan Drama*³ as a basis for my study of Peele's imagery and comparing the result with the imagery of *Locrine*, I found all that is there given concerning Peele practically true also of *Locrine*. Carpenter says:

Peele was in fact a poet rather than a dramatist, and it is by his poetical gifts alone that he attains his slender measure of success. His imagery is seldom condensed and emphatic, and is seen at its best in his two most

¹ The A. of P., once; D. & E., once; The B. of A., twice.

² "As" = "that," and used as a relative after "so." The instances of "as" after "such" were not counted because that is the modern use.

³ Chicago, 1895.

poetical pieces, *The Arraignment of Paris* and *David and Bethsabe*. When he attempts to be dramatic, as in *The Battle of Alcazar* and *Edward I.*, he becomes strained and turgid.¹

This is certainly true of *Locrine*. The author is by all means a poet rather than a dramatist, and whatever may be said for its qualities as a drama, the imagery of *Locrine* is worthy of praise; not the praise, however, bestowed on that of *David and Bethsabe*; *Locrine* partakes too much of the character of Peele's later dramatic work to merit that; but it does combine somewhat of the poetical qualities of *The Arraignment of Paris* and *David and Bethsabe* with the strained and stilted style of *Edward I.* and *The Battle of Alcazar*.

Taking up the imagery more in detail, I find the following seven characteristics of Peele's imagery cited by Carpenter true also of that of *Locrine*:

1. It is "seldom condensed and emphatic."²
2. It is generally "extrinsic and ornamental."³
3. Peele is "fond of simile and his imagery runs to extended passages rather than to short and burning figures."⁴ In *Locrine* there are as many as 47 formal similes, including 18 of the prolonged or Homeric type.⁵
4. The statement that "nature, and especially inanimate nature, affords by far the larger proportion of Peele's metaphors and similes,"⁶ is true also of *Locrine*. Of a total of 47 formal similes, 34 are nature similes and 21 of these are of inanimate nature in whole or in part. Of 21 metaphors 16 are nature metaphors, and 9 of the 16 are of inanimate nature.
5. Peele's "range is not great. Stars, sky, sun, and flowers play the largest part."⁷ Aspects of the sea also enter into the imagery of Peele.⁸ These elements enter largely into the imagery of *Locrine*.⁹
6. The body and its parts are often used in Peele's imagery.¹⁰ Bowels and entrails, especially in connection with inanimate

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ Prolonged similes: pp. 59-60, 60, 60, 64-5, 65, 68, 69, 69, 70, 75, 75, 78, 86, 87, 94, 96, 100, 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹ Stars: pp. 64, 82; sky: pp. 60, 64, 73, 81, 97, 97, 99, 99; sun: pp. 61, 61, 69, 70, 75, 80, 88, 97, 101; flowers: 69, 76, 88, 97; sea and rivers: pp. 65, 69, 69, 72, 75, 80, 87, 88, 88, 88.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

nature, occur often. This is likewise true of *Locrine*: pp. 61, 63, 63, 87.

7. An especially frequent and characteristic tag of Peele's style, says Carpenter,¹ is the image of "piercing." Examples of this in *Locrine* are found on pp. 61, 67, 92.

Lack of space forbids my quoting in full the above citations. Reference to them, however, by the reader will convince him of the very close similarity between the character and sources of the imagery of *Locrine* and the character and sources of that of Peele.

Let us now look for a moment at the imagery of Greene's plays. In contrast to the richness and abundance of imagery in *Locrine* and Peele, Carpenter's conclusions regarding Greene are striking:

The inferiority of Greene as a dramatic poet appears in the general poverty and commonplaceness of his imagery. Hallam thinks that he is "a little redundant in images," but this criticism can apply only to the *Orlando Furioso*, where Greene's peculiar pseudo-classical imagery is heaped up in superabundant measure. Otherwise his imagery is somewhat scanty. He uses few striking and original metaphors.²

In marked contrast also to the comparatively well-defined and often-used sources of imagery in *Locrine* and Peele, Carpenter says this of Greene: "Greene's range is narrow and is emphasized in no particular direction."³ Again, in contrast to the fact that by far the larger proportion of the similes and metaphors of *Locrine* and Peele are afforded by nature, we find that "nature is only slightly represented in his [Greene's] plays."⁴ Very few examples are given of the aspects of the sky, of the stars, sun, or flowers;⁵ none are given of the sea or of rivers (compare the striking examples in *Locrine* and Peele). In contrast with the frequent figurative use in *Locrine* and Peele of "bowels" and "entrails," I find only one instance in Greene—that of "bowels" in *Orlando Furioso* (p. 89). This instance also is the only one cited by Carpenter.⁶ Of the image of "piercing," so often found in *Locrine* and Peele, Carpenter gives no examples from Greene. I myself found none.

In grammatical structure, the use of certain adjectives and nouns, and in imagery, therefore, we have seen not only a marked

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30. ² *Ibid.*, p. 57. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

difference between Greene, on the one side, and *Locrine* and Peele, on the other, but also unusual similarity between *Locrine* and Peele. In the following discussion of versification I shall confine myself to showing further resemblances between *Locrine* and the plays of Peele. Greene I shall refer to again.

VERSIFICATION.

My count of feminine endings, run-on lines, incomplete lines,¹ broken lines,² and rhyming lines shows the same similarity between *Locrine* and the plays of Peele. But, while the preceding tests are positive, this is somewhat negative in its application. Its chief result is that it furnishes no disproof of Peele's authorship. Owing to the fact that the text of *Edward I.* has come down to us in a greatly mutilated condition, I made no study of the versification of that play. Moreover, the figures that follow are only for the blank-verse passages of these plays.³

	Feminine Endings	Run-on Lines	Incomplete Lines	Broken Lines	Rhyming Lines
<i>Arraignment of Paris</i> . . .	2.65%	1 in 8.54	0.00%	0	1.59%
<i>David and Bethsabe</i>	4.27	1 in 8.20	0.42	1	3.42
<i>Battle of Aleazar</i>	3.23	1 in 6.79	1.51	0	1.92
<i>Locrine</i>	1.10	1 in 8.07	0.52	1	4.92

TREATMENT OF THEME.

In the treatment of the theme, or the attitude of the author to his plot, *Locrine* and the plays of Peele are distinguished from those of Greene. In both *Locrine* and all the tragedies of Peele the story is told with moral earnestness and insistence on moral laws of retribution. There is no hint in either *Locrine* or Peele of the weak and sentimental temporizing and condoning of vice or crime, and the easy and sudden repentance of the sinner, found, for instance, in Greene's *James IV.* and the *Looking-Glass for London and England*. Greene, in his plays at least, takes

¹ Lines shorter than the regular ten-syllabled lines.

² Instances where one line is divided among two or more speakers.

³ Therefore the figures for the *Arraignment of Paris* apply only to the four blank verse passages: the Prologue, pp. 5, 6; the speech of Paris, pp. 56-59; the speech of Diana, pp. 68, 69; and from the speech of Clotho to the end of Diana's, pp. 71, 72. In *David and Bethsabe* and in *Locrine* I have omitted the lyrics.

the moral world lightly. His characters sin and repent with equal facility, and weaknesses of character or crimes against others are just as quickly forgiven and as soon forgotten. James in *James IV.*, Prince Edward and Lacy in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, are examples. Indeed, in the latter play, so gracefully is the fact covered up, we almost forget that the gentle and attractive Margaret is wooed and won by the man who at first tried to procure her for the lust of his prince; and the magnanimous prince is so magnanimous that his deliberate and well-laid plans against the honor of the fair maid of Fressingfield, and his threats against Lacy's life when thwarted in his purpose, are as pleasantly passed by in silence. Peele, on the contrary, never allows his readers to lose sight of "the old tragic principle of the consequences of sin." Nowhere is this more clearly exemplified than in *Locrine*.

NATURE OF THEME, OR PLOT.

If any contrast between Greene and *Locrine* and Peele were needed, it would be furnished by a study of the two sets of dramas. Mr. Courthope has said of Greene that

He was meant by nature for a novelist rather than for a playwright. His fancy, graceful, pastoral, and tender, is most at home when it is dwelling amid sheepfolds, and on the downs of Arcadia. . . . His softer nature appears in the construction of his plots, which abound in tragic incidents, but invariably end happily. . . . He kills his "dramatis personæ" plentifully, but casually. . . . What is best and most characteristic in the plays of Greene is the poetry of his pastoral landscape and his representation of the characters of women.¹

And I should add to this his representation of such pastoral and idyllic scenes as are found in *Friar Bacon* and *Friar Bungay* and *James IV.* The pretty and graceful love stories in these two plays, represented respectively by Margaret and Lacy and by Ida and Eustace, are very characteristic of the genius of Greene. Ulrici calls *James IV.* a romance, and *Alphonsus* a romantic and fantastic structure; of *Orlando Furioso* he says, "the reader is met by a refreshing breath of native air;" *George-a-Greene* is "pervaded by a tone of homely cheerfulness;" and *Friar Bacon*

¹ COURTHOPE, *A History of English Poetry* (London, 1897), Vol. II, pp. 394, 395.

and Friar Bungay by "a breath of pure, fresh air, a bright harmonious colouring."¹

To such work as this, *Locrine*, *Edward I.*, and the *Battle of Alcazar* form a strong contrast. There is only here and there the merest touch of tenderness—the fate of Joan perhaps in *Edward I.*, or Sabren in *Locrine*, touches our sympathy—but no real impression is made. There is little play of the fancy; little, if anything, that is graceful or pastoral in the three plays. Even the would-be Robin Hood scenes in *Edward I.* have an unpleasant grimness about them—an evident unreality—that leaves them unconvincing and unattractive. No "refreshing breath of native air" blows over them. Whether because of the Marlowesque influence, or because of a deepening sense of the tragedy of the life he and his fellow-dramatists were leading, or because of misfortunes in his own life, or because of all these reasons, Peele's genius seems to have lost much of the sweetness and grace of his earlier *Arraignment of Paris* and his *David and Bethsabe*, although even in the latter indications of a change are discernible. In the three plays mentioned there is no uncertainty in the tragic development and outcome. Most especially in *Locrine*—and I think of this as the last of the three—is this feeling of the tragic outcome of events apparent. Throughout the play there is a consistent reiteration of the idea: "That all our life is but a tragedy" (pp. 70, 101). The deeply pathetic lines in "The Honour of the Garter" (II, 321), which Peele wrote in 1593—

I laid me down, laden with many cares,
(My bed-fellows almost those twenty years),

inevitably suggest to my mind such lines as these from *Locrine*:

Caves were my beds, and stones my pillowberes,
Fear was my sleep, and horror was my dream.

—P. 93.

No human strength, no work can work my weal,
Care in my heart so tyrant-like doth deal.

—P. 103.

O life, the harbour of calamities!
O death, the haven of all miseries!

—P. 87.

¹ ULRICI, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, trans. by SCHMITZ, Vol. I, p. 144.

CHARACTERIZATION.

"Peele," says Carpenter, to repeat something we have quoted before,¹ "was in fact a poet rather than a dramatist, and it is by his poetical gifts alone that he attained his slender measure of success." Says Professor Courthope:

In wealth of poetic diction, warmth of fancy, and richness of invention, he perhaps excelled all his contemporaries whose names are usually coupled with his own. But in the higher creative powers he was deficient. His plays contain no character that rouses the affection; no imaginative situation that awakens the interest; no universal sentiment that touches the heart.²

After much reading and study of Peele's plays and *Locrine* I cannot but subscribe to the above statements in respect to both. No well-defined impression of any one character in *Locrine* or in any of Peele's known plays is fixed on my mind, no definite and positive appeal has been made by any character to my interest. The beginnings or intimations of such an awakening of interest are there, but they are shadowy and indistinct. No one character emerges from this shadowy background of indistinctness and stands out as a real and living personality with an appeal to our sympathy or to our dislike. Aside from their historical significance, the interest in the plays for the reader consists entirely, as has been said, in their poetical qualities. On the Elizabethan stage the appeal must have been largely through the action and the bloodthirsty rant so acceptable to the audience at that period of the development of the drama. I can see no difference in dramatic characterization between *Locrine* and the undoubtedly plays of Peele. The treatment is the same: in both it is marked by lack of discrimination, by lack of appeal. When the situation demands the expression of greatness or sublimity, of power, or of strong emotion, the author generally falls into bombast. There are touches of dignity, and now and then a suggestion of tenderness, but only a suggestion. In the representation of Oenone (*A. of P.*), Bethsabe (*D. & B.*), Joan (*Ed. I.*), and Sabren (*Locrine*), the softer appeal of Peele is felt, but only for a moment, not in a lasting or well-defined impression. The char-

¹P. 8.

²*History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 401.

acters in *Locrine*, it is now needless to say, are certainly the kind Peele would create. They are marked by all his faults, they have no virtues of dramatic characterization his do not possess.

In this connection a last word concerning Greene. His characters are not unusual, but in distinctness and definiteness of impression he is undeniably Peele's superior. Saintsbury calls Margaret (*F. B. & F. B.*) "by far the most human heroine produced by any of Greene's own group."¹ One of the greatest charms of Greene's dramas is his representation of women, loving, virtuous, constant. They are very far from creations in the sense that Shakspere's women are, but yet the definite and positive impression is made, and the graceful and attractive image remains in our memory. Dorothea, the unfortunate queen of James IV., Ida, the countess' daughter, and Margaret, the fair maid of Fressingfield, are examples of Greene's power to draw attractive female characters. Other characters having distinctness of form and possessing interest in themselves beyond any in *Locrine* or Peele are Friar Bacon, Nano, the dwarf, Eustace, the lover of Ida, and perhaps Ateukin, the parasite of James. In the nature of its character-drawing alone, *Locrine* is impossible as the work of Robert Greene.

RESEMBLANCES OF THOUGHT AND PHRASING.

In various points of style, in versification, in the nature and treatment of theme, and in characterization, we have found a constant similarity between *Locrine* and the undoubted plays of Peele. Usually, with an agreement established in all these tests, the case is good. I purpose to make it stronger by the citation of some of the more striking of the many parallel passages in *Locrine* and Peele's undoubted plays and poems. Indeed, the fact that striking parallels exist between *Locrine* and practically all Peele's plays and poems, showing repetitions of thought and language throughout his entire career, is in itself almost enough —even if the other tests were not convincing—to prove that this mutual dependence is due to the fact of Peele's authorship. But, however important or unimportant parallel passages may be when

¹ *History of Elizabethan Literature* (London, and New York, 1887), pp. 73, 74.

put forward alone, I feel that when they support and confirm all the tests already applied, none of which has failed, the case for Peele's authorship is more than made good.

Before I cite these parallel passages, I wish to say that it was no uncommon thing for Peele thus to repeat himself—in fact, that all his plays and poems show repetitions of thought and language. Sometimes the exact language of entire lines is repeated. I regret that lack of space forbids my giving the examples of his habit I have collected.

The following are some of the parallel passages between Peele's undoubted work and *Locrine*:

- 1 To arms, to arms, to honourable arms!
—*Tale of Troy*, Vol. II, p. 239.
Your rests and muskets take, take helm and targe.
—P. 237.
- 2 To arms, my lord, to honourable arms:
Take helm and targe in hand.
—*Locrine*, p. 81.
- 3 With slaughtering hand, with visage pale and dim.
—*T. of T.*, II, p. 233.
Black ugly Death, with visage pale and wan.
—*Locrine*, p. 60.
- 4 Yet policy,
The sinews and true strength of chivalry.
—*T. of T.*, II, 259.
For policy, join'd with chivalry,
Can never be put back from victory.
—*Locrine*, 74.
- 5 Yet chivalry will mount with golden wings.
—*Eclogue Grat.*, II, 275.
The Trojans' glory flies with golden wings.
—*Locrine*, 61.
- 6 That Absalom may glut his longing soul.
—*David and Bathsheba*, II, 58.
And now revenge shall glut my longing soul.
—*Locrine*, 81.
- 7 Alas, my veins are numb'd, my sinews shrink,
My blood is pierced (iced ?).¹
—*Old Wives' Tale*, I, 342.

¹ Emendation by P. A. DANIEL. See BULLEN'S *Peele*, Vol. I, p. 342, note.

My sinews shrink, my numbed senses fail,
A chilling cold possesseth all my bones.

—*Locrine*, 60.

- 7 Why, how now, princox ! prat'st thou to a king ?

—*Edward I.*, I, 181.

What, prat'st thou, peasant, to thy sovereign ?

—*Locrine*, 95.

A resemblance principally of thought, but with many words repeated:

- 8 Great Jove, defender of this ancient town,
Descended of the Trojan Brutus line,

* * * * *

Whose pure renown hath pierced the world's large ears,
In golden scrolls rolling about the heavens.

—*Descensus Ast.*, I, 361.

The Trojans' glory flies with golden wings,

* * * * *

The fame of Brutus and his followers

Pierceth the skies, and, with the skies, the throne

Of mighty Jove, commander of the world.

—*Locrine*, 61.

Cf.:

Yet chivalry will mount with golden wings,
Spite all, and nestle near the seat of kings.

—*Elogue Grat.*, II, 275.

- 9 The combat will I crave upon thy ghost,
And drag thee through the loathsome pools
Of Lethe, Styx, and fiery Phlegethon.

—*Battle of A.*, I, 289.

I'll drag thy cursed ghost
Through all the rivers of foul Erebus.

—*Locrine*, 86.

- 10 Mounted upon his jennet white as snow.

—*Battle of A.*, I, 291.

Mounted upon his courser white as snow.

—*Locrine*, 73.

- 11 Where shall I find some unfrequented place,
Some uncouth walk, where I may curse my fill,
My stars, my dam, my planets, and my nurse,
The fire, the air, the water, and the earth.

—*Battle of A.*, I, 287, 288.

Where may I find some desert wilderness,
 Where I may breathe out curses as I would,
 * * * * * * * * * *
 Where may I find some hollow uncouth rock,
 Where I may damn, condemn, and ban my fill,
 The heavens, the hell, the earth, the air, the fire.

— *Locrine*, 85.

- 12 Pisano, take a cornet of our horse,
 As many argolets and armed pikes.

— *Battle of A.*, I, 233.

Hubba, go take a coronet of our horse,
 As many lanciers, and light-armed knights.

— *Locrine*, 74.

Here are parallelisms between *Locrine* and four of Peele's plays and three of his poems. We know that he often borrowed from, or repeated, himself. It would be unreasonable to suppose that any other poet could copy so extensively from all these poems and plays. It is reasonable to conclude, and, in view of the other evidence already given, it is almost the inevitable conclusion, that Peele here as elsewhere is simply repeating himself in his own play *Locrine*.

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THE MORAL ELEMENT IN GOTTFRIED'S TRISTAN UND ISOLDE.

FEW poems of German literature have given rise to so various and contradictory opinions as has Gottfried's *Tristan und Isolde*. Virtually all critics agree as to the beauty of the descriptions and the mastery of the niceties of style. The melodious flow of the verse, the limpid beauty of the language, and his surprising power of psychological analysis have earned for Gottfried the title of a master of his art and a high rank among German poets of any age. Few writers have excelled him in the ability to paint the conflicting emotions of the heart under the stress of an overpowering passion. Many of the older critics, however, rendered their tribute of praise almost in spite of themselves, for all this manifold beauty was in their minds only the attractive cloak for gross immorality and excited only aversion and disgust. The severe condemnation which the legend received at the hands of the poet Southeby, for example, is too well known to need more than a passing mention.¹ His attitude is pardonable when one remembers that he was acquainted with the tale only in the crude, unpolished English version of *Sir Tristrem*. One is, however, surprised at the harsh criticism passed on Gottfried's poem by so able and, as a rule, so just a critic as Karl Lachmann, who said of it: "anderes als uppigkeit oder gotteslästerung boten die hauptteile seiner weichlichen, unsittlichen erzählung nicht dar."² Massmann likewise, in his edition of Gottfried, expressed himself in terms hardly less severe.³ Groote,⁴ who was one of the first to protest against the severe criticism of the poem, tried to condone the sin of the lovers by declaring that Isolde was married to Marke only in appearance and that Tristan was her real husband. In this he was followed by Simrock in his translation of Gott-

¹Introduction to *The Byrth, Lyf and Actes of Kyng Arthur*, etc. (London, 1817), Vol. I, p. xv.

²LACHMANN, *Auswahl aus den mhd. Dichtern des 13. Jh.*, p. vi.

³Cf. p. xl.

⁴Cf. the introduction to his edition of GOTTFRIED's *Tristan* (Berlin, 1821), p. xvi.

fried.¹ That this view, however, is untenable, everyone who has read the poem attentively is well aware. Later critics, therefore, have contented themselves in the main with emphasizing the fact that Gottfried has taken a story of crime and low intrigue and transformed it into a poem of surpassing beauty. This is true enough, although much of the credit for doing this belongs in all probability to Gottfried's source, the French poet Thomas. This evidence is, however, largely æsthetic in character, and is not valid in the sphere of morality. The proofs must be sought rather in the motive which inspired the author, and in the difference of attitude on questions of morality and custom existing between mediæval and modern times. It is, therefore, the purpose of this study to consider the subject from these two points of view, to institute an inquiry into Gottfried's motive in writing the poem, to investigate his method of depicting the love scenes and his attitude toward the legend, and lastly to bring as much light to bear upon his conceptions of honor and virtue as may be gleaned from what he himself tells us in the poem.

Taking up first the question of motive, it will be generally admitted, I think, that in the realm of literature this is a prime factor in deciding questions of morality. It is not so much the incidents narrated, but the way in which they are told and the purpose animating the author, which form the final court of appeal. The historian or the literary artist may deal with the most delicate subjects, if his purpose be to instruct or admonish. To select only one of the many examples which suggest themselves to the mind: the so-called problem plays of modern literature may be disagreeable, they may depict a side of life whose existence we would gladly deny, but only a complete misconception of their purpose can lead us to call them immoral. When, however, a writer becomes purposely suggestive, when the motive is no longer to point a moral, but to appeal to depraved tastes, to excite the senses by veiled allusions or by detailed descriptions of erotic scenes, then we are forced to admit that he has been guilty of immorality which no art, however skilful, will excuse.

When we consider Gottfried's poem from this point of view,

¹ P. 395.

we find that it belongs to the first category. It is the narrative of an overpowering passion from which it is impossible for the victims to escape, which overthrows the barriers of honor and virtue, renders the lovers miserable despite their love, and finally leads to their tragic death. That Tristan was predestined for such a life of sinful love is clearly pointed out by Gottfried. Had the poet lived in the nineteenth century, he would have talked a great deal about environment and inherited predispositions. Having had the misfortune of being born over six hundred years before Darwin and the modern scientific school, he did what was virtually the same thing—he gave the detailed history of Tristan's parents to show that he was predestined for such a life by being a child of love. Furthermore, when the name Tristan is given to the hero, Gottfried comments upon its appropriateness, deriving it from the French *triste*. "Behold," he exclaims, "what a sad life was given to him to live!"¹ Unfortunately, the poet did not live to complete his work, but we know from the English *Sir Tristrem* and the Norse saga how Thomas finished the story, and there is not the slightest doubt but that Gottfried would have ended the poem in a way which would have made it perfectly clear that the tragic death of the lovers was the necessary consequence of their sin, and the atonement for it. In fact, he indicates this in ll. 2011-15, where he remarks:

Sehet an den trüreclichen töt,
der alle sine herzenöt
mit einem ende beslöz,
daz alles tödes übergenöt
und aller triuwe ein galle was;

"a death which surpassed all other deaths and which contained more bitterness than any other sorrow." This passage occurs near the beginning in the description of Tristan's christening and strikes at once the keynote of the whole poem.

Gottfried's purpose is, therefore, to depict the course and the tragic consequences of a sinful love. In no case does he endeavor to present this love in an attractive or alluring light—quite the contrary. Toward the end of the poem his comments upon honor

¹ "Sehen wie trüreclich ein leben
Ime ze lebene wart gegeben" (l. 2009).

and virtue in women become more and more frequent. It is as if he felt his end approaching and did not wish to leave the world in doubt as to his attitude toward the story. Thus, after Tristan is banished from Marke's court, the poet remarks that no good woman would give up her honor to save her life.¹ A few lines farther he adds: "There is no more beautiful thing in the world than a woman who is devoted to *maze* [i. e., moderation]. The man who is loved by such a woman is the possessor of every earthly joy and carries a living paradise in his heart. He has no cause for anxiety and need not desire to exchange his life for that of Tristan, for a faithful wife does more for her husband than ever Isolde did for Tristan."² Surely no words could express more clearly the critical, nay condemnatory, attitude of the poet toward the legend. Again, in another passage, just after the lovers have yielded to their fatal passion, he moralizes at some length upon infidelity in love. "We have a false conception of love," he tells us. "We sow weeds and expect roses and lilies to spring up, and this cannot be; we must reap what we sow. We sow love with falseness and dishonesty, and so it bears only evil and pain. Real love has been banished and we have naught but the name."³

Let us now turn to the consideration of the second point, that of method, and inquire how Gottfried has treated the love scenes in the poem. This, as has already been brought out, is of the greatest importance in judging of the morality of a piece of literature, for it gives us additional and important evidence as to the motive of the author. The question in Gottfried's case is doubly important, since the character of the story is such that a poet who delights in depicting scenes of passion has ample opportunity in the course of the narrative to indulge his bent to the full.⁴ A study of Gottfried's poem from this point of view reveals at once the fact that the poet observes the utmost delicacy in dealing with erotic situations. He introduces love scenes only where he cannot avoid them without departing from the story, and when he does introduce them, it is done so simply, so charmingly, that we

¹ L. 18000.

² Ll. 18101-12.

³ Ll. 12230-12361.

⁴ Cf., for example, SWINBURNE's treatment of the legend in his *Tristram of Lyonesse*.

cannot take offense.¹ Take, for example, the love scene between Tristan's Rivalin and Blancheflour. It was necessary for the poet to describe this scene in some detail in order to show that Tristan was a child of love. Here was a chance to indulge in description of the most erotic character. But what do we find? A scene so artless and so touching in its simplicity and delicacy that one must search far to find its equal. Overcome by her grief at Rivalin's supposedly fatal wound, Blancheflour falls in a swoon upon the edge of his couch. Her sweet presence revives in the dying hero the almost extinct spark of life. Their lips meet in kisses and then the poet adds simply:

dā nach so was vil harte unlanc,
unz daz ir beider wille ergie,
und daz vil st̄eze wip empfie
ein kint von sinem libe.

—Ll. 1320-23.

So much was necessary, as stated, to show the character of Tristan's conception; the rest is left to the imagination of the reader. Here there is certainly no attempt at passionate, or even suggestive, description, and yet this is the most detailed of all the love scenes of the poem. What would not a Wieland or a Byron or a d'Annunzio have made of this episode?

Further, when after drinking the fatal potion Tristan and Isolde have confessed their mutual love and Brangaene consents to provide them with an opportunity to meet rather than see her mistress pine away, and Tristan steals softly to Isolde's darkened cabin, we should expect of a mediæval poet a most detailed description of the scene. Gottfried, however, merely relates how the physician Love took the lovesick Tristan by the hand and led him to the bedside of Isolde and gave him to her and her to him as medicine. Love bound their hearts so firmly, he tells us, that they could never be severed.² Then, instead of describing

¹For some of the following examples I am indebted in the first instance to R. HEINZEL, "Über Gottfried von Strassburg" (*Zeitschr. f. d. österreich. Gym.*, 1868), pp. 548, 549, who collected a number of instances. J. FIEMERY, in an essay, "Notes critiques sur quelques traductions allemandes de poèmes français au moyen Age," *Annales de l'université de Lyon*, nouvelle série, II, 8, has also emphasized the delicacy with which Gottfried treats the love scenes in his poem. Not having access to this series, I am unable to say how fully Firmery has treated of this point.

²Ll. 12161-86.

the scene further, he begins a long rambling discussion of two hundred lines on the character and the effects of love, in the course of which he condemns a passion based upon treachery and deceit, and sings the praises of a love coupled with fidelity. When he finally returns to the lovers, it is only to remark that they succeeded in curing one another of their sorrow and pain.¹

Again, no incident in the poem has given more offense than the substitution of Brangaene for Isolde. This is not the place to justify its introduction, as we are concerned here only with Gottfried's method of treatment. Suffice it to say that he found the incident in the original, and that it seemed to offer the only way by which Brangaene might save the reputation of her mistress and make good her negligence which had brought upon the lovers their fatal passion. Now how does Gottfried treat so difficult a scene? Brangaene at first refuses thus to debase herself and consents only after repeated urging, and because she feels that she must pay the penalty of her carelessness and at any cost save the honor of Isolde, for whose happiness the queen had made her responsible. There is no detailed description of the scene. The poet hastens to assure us that Brangaene's thoughts were "lütter unde guot," and that she slipped away as soon as the object of the substitution had been accomplished.²

In the other recorded instances of meetings between the lovers Gottfried contents himself, as a rule, with the mere mention of the fact, as, for example, in the series of rendezvous in the orchard during Marke's absence. Here we read merely that they met without detection eight times in as many days.³ In the beautiful idyl of the *Minnegrotte* we find lengthy descriptions of nature, of the arrangement of the grotto, of the manner in which the lovers passed their days, but not even the mention of a love scene, although the opportunity to introduce such a passage could not

¹ Ll. 12362 ff.

² In no case does Gottfried indulge in ribald jokes upon delicate situations, as do the later French versions of the legend. The attitude of the latter has been well shown by Heinzl with reference to the scene where Tristan, disguised as a pilgrim, stumbles and falls when carrying Isolde ashore. A comparison with the corresponding passages in the saga and the English poem also shows that the humor in Thomas must have been much broader, and furnished additional evidence in proof of Gottfried's desire to avoid coarse and indelicate expressions.

³ Cf. ll. 14506-10.

have been more favorable. Had Gottfried been fond of indulging in erotic descriptions, he would not have allowed so favorable a chance to pass unused.¹

Judged, therefore, from the standpoints of motive and method, Gottfried must be exonerated from much of the blame attached to him. There are still some objections, however, which remain to be answered. Chief among these is the fact that the poet does not directly pose as a moralist and that he does not censure the lovers more severely. It has been pointed out that Marke, the deluded husband, plays the part of a stupid fool who deserves to be deceived for his credulity, and that those who act as spies upon the lovers are not represented as champions of morality, but are accused of a lack of courtly breeding (*unhövescheit*). This is to some extent true, but it does not prove Gottfried's frivolity as conclusively as has been claimed. Those who make this criticism quite forget that a piece of literature must be judged from the viewpoint of the time and place in which it was written. Not only customs, but also the conceptions of honor and virtue, vary from age to age and may be different in different parts of the world, or in different classes of society.²

The people of the Middle Ages, and especially those classes among whom chivalry took its rise had a more naive way of looking at things than we today. Their ideals were often totally different from ours and resembled more those of the ancient world. The moral value of absolute truthfulness does not seem to have been appreciated by them any more than by the Greeks, who admired above all things craftiness and cunning. Tristan of our poem is just such a character as Ulysses or Pylades. With a quiet smile on his lips and with an ingenuity which astonishes us, he invents again and again the most plausible stories to account for the condition in which he found himself at a given moment.

¹In one case, it must be admitted, Gottfried does seem to depart from his usual practice, when he describes the position in which Marke discovers the lovers asleep in the garden, ll. 18199-18218. This admits, however, of an easy explanation. Just as an unusual amount of detail was given in the love scene between Rivalin and Blancheflour to show the nature of Tristan's conception, so here too Gottfried probably felt it necessary to describe the scene in such a way that Marke should have at last unequivocal proof of the character of the intercourse existing between his wife and his nephew.

²A strong presentation of these 'facts in dramatic form is to be found in SUDERMANN's *Ehre*.

Thus, when he had been carried off by Norwegian traders and landed on an unknown coast, he tells the pilgrims whom he meets that he had lost his way while hunting in the neighborhood. Not only does he invent the story, but he describes the circumstances with such minutiae that he is at once believed. That we are expected to admire him for his ready invention is evident from the words with which the episode is introduced.¹ Again, on his second trip to Ireland Tristan goes boldly on shore, although he knows that the Irish have sworn to kill all men from Kurneaval, trusting to his skill in deceiving to preserve him from harm. He makes no pretense of concealing his purpose from his fellow-travelers, but says frankly: "I must lie to them today to the extent of my ability."² Such examples occur frequently, and might be largely multiplied if space would permit.³

That not only Gottfried, but also his contemporaries, justified such deceit is shown by the fact that Tristan was universally considered as a model of courtly breeding. As strict a moralist as Thomasin von Zirclære holds him up as a pattern for the young to follow.⁴ Similar characters are found in the *Iwein* of Hartmann von Aue, whom Gottfried took as his model. Thus the waiting maid Lunette and the young squire, who successfully deceived their mistress and induced her to marry the hero, are highly extolled.⁵ Further, the maid who cured Iwein of his madness is called wise because she tells a falsehood (*lügemaere*) to account for the disappearance of the salve used in the cure.⁶

Another feature in which the age of chivalry differed from modern times, and which has a still closer bearing upon the question of Gottfried's morality, was the stress laid upon the strict observance of a formal courtly etiquette (*hövescheit*). Provided a man followed its dictates to the letter, other qualities were of little importance. This was, after all, only natural, for it was courtly breeding which had gradually transformed the semi-barbarous western lands into a semblance of culture and civiliza-

¹ Cf. ll. 2690 f.

² Ll. 8709, 8710.

³ Other examples are found: ll. 3070 ff.; 7905-14; 8185-8212; 8800 ff. In one case the poet goes out of his way to show the advantages of such forethought, as he calls it.

⁴ *Der welsche Gast*, l. 1051: "an gevuoec folgt ir Tristande."

⁵ Ll. 2181-84 and 2218.

⁶ Ll. 3657 ff.

tion. It alone distinguished often the knight from the *vilein* or boor, the noble of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from his warlike but uncouth ancestors. The courtly poets are, therefore, continually using the phrase *durch hövescheit* in commenting upon the fine breeding of their heroes.¹ Even more popular epics, such as the *Nibelungenlied*, make similar use of it.² Now, one of the worst infringements of this formal etiquette is tale-bearing. No matter what happened, courtly etiquette demanded that a knight should be able to hold his tongue. The poems of the minnesingers are full of severe condemnation of the envious *merkaere*, who disturbed the peace of lovers. Gottfried, we find, takes the same view. He accuses the knight Marjodo and the dwarf Melot, who betray Tristan to Marke, of *unhövescheit* and scores them in no measured terms. He begins chap. 24 with a long homily on the despicableness of false friendship in general and that of Marjodo in particular, and even goes so far as to call the knight a dog and the dwarf a serpent, although he usually avoids such expressions as being uncourteous. We find Eilhart taking exactly the same view in his version. In fact, he waxes still more indignant at the "boorishness" of the knight, whom he calls a coward (*zage*), and whom he wishes the devil would drown in the Rhine for his false friendship toward Tristan. His statements are called *ntdesch lugenmære*, although they are only too true.³

Still another conception which we must thoroughly understand in order to avoid misjudging Gottfried's poem is the courtly use of the word *ere*, which seldom meant "honor" in the modern acceptation, but generally signified "reputation," the respect in which a person was held. Honor with us is mainly subjective;

¹ Cf. *Flore*, 3924; *Parzival*, III, 1611; *Iwein*, 788, 3387.

² *Nibelungenlied* (Lachmann), 131.

³ LICHTENSTEIN's edition of *EILHART*, I, 3171. A most striking instance of the extent to which this etiquette was carried is furnished by the episode in which Isolde wins her case when subjected to the trial by hot iron by appealing to the *hövescheit* of God (ll. 15554 ff.). Gottfried has been accused of blasphemy because of this remark, but has been well defended by BECHSTEIN, in his Introduction, p. xxx, and by KURTZ, *Germania*, Vol. XV, pp. 207 ff. and 322 ff. Before Gottfried HÄRTMANN had already spoken of God's *hövescheit* (*Erec*, 3460), and the expression is also used by ULRICH VON LICHTENSTEIN (*Frauendienst*, 180, 8) and by ABRAHAM A SANTA CLARA (*Judas*, III, 27). Cf. SPRENGER, *Zeitschr. f. d. Phil.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 284, and HERTZ, *Tristan und Isolde*, p. 544.

in the poems of chivalry it is principally objective.¹ It was synonymous with outward appearances, and so long as these were kept, *ére* was untarnished. This is clearly brought out in Gottfried's poem. When, for example, Isolde succeeds in triumphantly standing the test of the hot iron, the poet remarks that her *ére* was restored,² whereas from a modern point of view the deceit to which she had recourse dishonored her more than ever. Again, when the lovers are banished from the court, they do not grieve on account of their guilt toward Marke, but solely because the discovery of their sinful love had brought upon them the loss of their reputation at the court.³ And when Marke concludes to take them back into favor, they rejoice especially over their restoration to *ére*.⁴

Most characteristic for the courtly conception of honor is the attitude of the lovers after drinking the love potion. The thought that it would be more honorable to accept the consequences of their love does not seem to have occurred to them. In their minds it was decidedly less dishonorable to deceive Marke than to cause a public scandal. Tristan had promised to obtain the hand of Isolde for his uncle, and this promise must be kept or he would be dishonored, i. e., would lose his *ére*. The poet does not leave us in the slightest doubt as to which was the correct course for Tristan to pursue. Line 12511 he remarks:

swie sanfte uns mit der liebe si,
so müezen wir doch ie da bi
gedenken der éren.

Again, a few lines farther down (12517-22) he continues:

swie wol Tristande tæte
daz leben, daz er hæte,
sin ére zöch in doch dervan.

¹ Of sixty-eight occurrences in *Iwein* only one cannot be construed in an objective sense (l. 3046), and in scarcely more than a half-dozen cases is it used as we now employ the word.

² "Daz si an ir éren genas" (l. 15754).

³ "Sine haeten umbe ein bezzer leben
niht eine bône gegeben,
wan eine umbe ir ére" (ll. 16879-81).

⁴ "Die frôude heten s'aber dô
vîl harter unde mère
dur got und durch ir ére" (ll. 17700-17702).

sin triuwe lag im allez an,
daz er ir wol gedæhte
und Marke sin wip brahte.¹

Love and honor are in conflict, and although the former had conquered before, now honor is triumphant and love is forced to give way for the time being. A modern poet would have treated the subject in the very opposite manner. He would have shown that true honor demanded above all absolute truthfulness, and would have made Tristan confess to Marke the secret of his love, and either allowed him to suffer the consequences of betraying the king's confidence, or, if the story was to end happily, would have made Marke magnanimous enough to pardon Tristan's fault and renounce all claims to Isolde.² Gottfried, however, is a child of his time, and we cannot expect him to exhibit feelings and hold ideals different from those of his contemporaries. It is, therefore, unjust to call him immoral because he places *ére*, i. e., reputation, above absolute truthfulness.

Another characteristic difference existing between modern times and the age of chivalry which must be borne in mind in judging of Gottfried's poem is to be found in the attitude toward the passion of love. Civilization was cruder, men were more naïve in those days, and their passions were not held in check by considerations of propriety and of society as in our time. Love was supreme, and few ties, however sacred, could stand before it. The many *tagelieder* of the Middle High German and the *albas* of Provençal literature are not creations of a depraved morality, but expressions of the belief that love carried with it its own justification under all circumstances. The prevailing custom of marrying young girls, often against their will, for family or state reasons to men whom they often had never seen had resulted in the

¹This whole chapter throws most interesting light on the conceptions of *ére* and *triuwe*.

²IMMERMANN attempted to modernize the legend in this way by having the lovers prepare to commit suicide before landing. He, however, shrank from the complete change in the story which this would involve, so that his attempt remained half-hearted and ineffectual. JOSEPH WEILEN is the only one, so far as I know, who has consistently modernized the poem by having the lovers struggle successfully against their passion until Tristan can leave the court. Weilen, however, spoils his drama by the unnecessarily tragic character of the close. The difficulties attending the remodeling of the legend for modern dramatic purposes have been interestingly discussed by BECHSTEIN, *Tristan und Isolt in den deutschen Dichtungen der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1876).

gradual degradation of marriage. The question as to whether love could exist between husband and wife we find being discussed and gravely decided in the negative.¹ The frequent lack of congeniality led husband and wife to bestow their affections elsewhere. Such secret love naturally attracted the adventurous spirit of the knights, and the prudence and cunning necessary to escape detection possessed a similar charm for the woman of leisure.² The result was that violations of the marriage tie were not considered so heinous nor were they so severely punished as in a stricter age.

An interesting example of this is to be found in MS R of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's poem *Carros*, where the marquis finds his wife asleep in the arms of the troubadour, much as Marke discovers Tristan and Isolde. Instead of avenging his honor on the spot, the marquis merely substitutes his cloak for that of Raimbaut, as Marke does with the swords in the grotto scene, and leaves the lovers undisturbed. When the troubadour awakes and sees that he has been detected, he proceeds at once to the injured husband and begs his pardon. This the latter grants, with the remark that he forgave the theft this time, but that it must not occur again. Such indifference on the part of the marquis seems incredible to us. It offers, however, a most striking parallel to our poem, and at the same time a commentary on the lack of spirit which Marke exhibits.

The susceptibility of woman to love is the favorite theme of the troubadours. Arnaut Daniel once declared that there was no woman who did not wish to yield and who would not, if rightly wooed.³ It was considered wrong, however, to yield lightly to the solicitations of the lover. Eilhart expresses this view clearly when he makes one of Isolde's ladies-in-waiting indignantly spurn the advances of Kehenis.⁴ Gottfried likewise is far from being an apostle of indiscriminate love. If, however, love already exists between a man and a woman, if it has proved too strong

¹"Utrum inter conjugales amor possit habere locum?" MS de la Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 8758, fol. 56. Cf. MARY LAFON, *Histoire littéraire du Midi de la France* (Paris, 1882), p. 110.

²Cf. JUSTIN H. SMITH, *The Troubadours at Home*, p. 59.

³Ibid., p. 218.

⁴LICHENSTEIN'S edition, ll. 6742 ff.

for them, if they have been forced to surrender to their passion, then it is foolish to have further scruples in the matter. This is the feeling of the age of chivalry, and Gottfried makes this clear when he remarks, that those who have gone so far that all strangeness between them has ceased to exist are thieves of their own happiness if they do not give themselves over to the enjoyment of their love.¹ This is such a matter of course for Gottfried that he wastes no further words upon it. The intrigues and deceit necessary to procure the enjoyment of this love he considers deplorable, but nevertheless justifiable. If, then, love be thought to be an overpowering passion to which everyone must yield whom it makes its prey;² if, moreover, it be so supreme that no obligation, however binding, can stand before it, then the actions of Tristan and Isolde are certainly less reprehensible from this point of view than when judged by our moral standard. From the standpoint of courtly chivalry, Gottfried's Tristan is in many respects the ideal lover, devoted to his mistress and faithful to the end.³ He is no gay, wanton butterfly fluttering from one flower to another, but a man whose whole life is filled with this one passion—his love for Isolde.

Whatever, therefore, may be the general opinion of the immorality of the legend in its cruder forms, it must be evident from the arguments adduced that no blame attaches to Gottfried, unless indeed we go so far as to censure him for choosing such a subject for poetic treatment. Granted, however, the right to select such a theme—and no less a man than Goethe was a strong champion of the freedom of the poet in this respect—then we must concede that Gottfried has sought throughout to lift the tale out of the realm of the commonplace into the sphere of the ideal, that under his pen the story of a guilty passion becomes a grand picture of two souls struggling against an overpowering love, which draws them slowly but surely together and from which

¹ Ll. 12380-90.

² This is made clear by Gottfried in ll. 12180-86. In BEROL and EILHART the love ceases when the effect of the philter ceases; in GOTTFRIED it lasts till death.

³ In EILHART Tristan's marriage with Isolde of Brittany finally becomes one in reality as well as in name. In the courtly version, however, he remains faithful to his first love. This trait of fidelity has been exquisitely portrayed by WILLIAM MORRIS in his treatment of this episode.

there is no possibility of escape—a love which renders its possessors, not happy, but miserable, and which finally ends in their tragic death. We have seen that the poet does not hold the lovers up as examples for us to imitate; on the contrary, he pauses again and again to sing the praises of virtue and moderation (*mâze*) in woman. His views on honor and love, which differ so radically from ours, find their explanation in the attitude of the age of chivalry touching these points. His motive has been shown to be pure, and the evident intention to refrain from all mention of unpleasant or gross thoughts, and the delicacy with which scenes of the most intimate character are depicted, suffice finally to clear him of the least suspicion of immorality. With an unsurpassed beauty and melody of verse, with a marvelous knowledge of the human heart, and a searching analysis of motives and emotions, Gottfried has succeeded in giving us a poem which will stand for all time as one of the few great tragedies of love, and which must disarm criticism except on the part of those who fix their eyes obstinately on one point and thus fail to see the grandeur of the struggle and the beauty of the description which have placed the poem in the front rank of the literature of the world.

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LES "DISCOURS" DE RONSARD.¹

LA renommée de Ronsard, si glorieuse au temps de la Pléiade, s'écroula sous la critique aussi fameuse qu'injuste de Boileau.² Pendant deux siècles, elle ne s'en releva point. Au XIX^e seulement, après l'heureuse initiative de Sainte-Beuve,³ elle a repris quelque chose de son éclat d'autan. Les lettrés délicats l'ont relu. Mais qu'ont-ils admiré de son œuvre ? Je crois bien que ce sont les folâtries. Longtemps il éveilla l'idée d'un poète trop ambitieux—and c'est un souvenir de Boileau—puis d'un poète aimable, galant, épiciurien. Il le fut sans doute, et c'est un titre de gloire, si l'on veut. Mais il en a un autre plus important à mes yeux: les *Discours*. Là, pour la première fois peut-être, il s'est montré grand poète, je veux dire inspiré par de belles et nobles idées, emporté par le souffle d'une poésie large, chaude, éloquente. Ce n'est pas une découverte que je fais. Après Sainte-Beuve, MM. Lenient, Bizos, Vianey, Pinvert⁴ ont consacré aux *Discours* quelques pages judicieuses. M. Faguet⁵ les a analysés de façon rapide et substantielle. Sous ce titre "Un épisode de la vie de Ronsard,"⁶ M. Brunetière apprécie les opinions de Ronsard, en homme peut-être trop préoccupé des luttes contemporaines. Enfin, M. Perdrizet vient d'écrire sur *Ronsard et la Réforme* une étude intéressante sinon définitive.⁷ Aux uns, Ronsard apparaît un champion convaincu du trône et de l'autel; aux autres un égoïste plus soucieux de bénéfices que de religion; à quelques-uns, plus modérés, un humaniste conservateur. Parmi ces critiques, MM. Brunetière et Perdrizet me paraissent avoir résumé les opinions diverses. Je voudrais ici exposer leurs raisons, les discuter, et, s'il y a lieu, proposer une opinion personnelle. La question a son importance. Non seulement les *Discours*

¹ Cette étude servira de préface à une édition critique des *Discours* que l'auteur prépare.

² *Art poétique*, chant I, vss. 123-30.

³ *Tableau de la poésie au XVI^e siècle* (Charpentier).

⁴ *Satire en France au XVI^e siècle*, tome I; *Ronsard dans les Classiques populaires*; Thèse française sur *Mathurin Régnier*; Thèse française sur *Jacques Grévin*.

⁵ *XVI^e siècle: Études littéraires*, pp. 251-55. ⁶ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 mai 1900.

⁷ *Ronsard et la Réforme* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902).

nous font connaître un Ronsard penseur, orateur, polémiste, patriote, c'est-à-dire un Ronsard nouveau, ou tout au moins différent du poète des *Amours*; mais ils nous renseignent sur l'état d'esprit des auteurs de la Pléiade. A ne lire que les historiens de la littérature, on pourrait s'imaginer une réunion de purs artistes, un peu païens, détachés de tout ce qui n'est pas l'art. On serait loin du compte. Ils aimaient vraiment leur patrie—Joachim du Bellay passe même pour avoir introduit ce mot;¹ à l'occasion, ils ne dédaignaient pas de quitter les régions sereines de la poésie pour se mêler aux réalités de leur temps. En quoi ils se montraient vraiment humanistes, si l'humanisme signifie avant tout l'intelligence et l'amour de la vie. De plus, dans la lutte contre les Protestants, Ronsard, de l'aveu même de M. Perdrizet,² représente l'opinion de ses contemporains. Alors les *Discours* se parent encore d'un intérêt historique. Ils nous apprennent ce que pensaient à ce moment de crise la majorité des Français, ce qui les éloignait de la religion nouvelle. N'est-ce pas de quoi leur mériter une place à part et dans l'étude même des œuvres de Ronsard, et dans l'histoire générale des idées aux XVI^e siècle ?

Les *Discours*, parus d'abord en plaquettes, réimprimés de 1562 à 1564, furent publiés durant la première guerre civile. En suivant l'ordre de ces poèmes dans l'édition Blanchemain, voici leurs dates respectives:³ Le *Discours des misères de ce temps*, dès novembre 1562; la *Continuation*, également en novembre 1562; l'*Institution pour l'adolescence du Roy*, en 1562, peut-être avant les deux *Discours*; l'*Élégie à Guillaume des Autels*, écrite probablement avant les troubles d'Amboise, réimprimée en 1562; le *Discours à Louis des Masures*, de 1560 comme la précédente élégie; la *Remonstrance au peuple de France*, en décembre 1562;⁴ *Response aux injures et calomnies*, en avril 1563. Quant aux

¹ Il n'a que le mérite de l'avoir vulgarisé. Avant lui, on le trouve dans C. Gruget (1537), Étienne Dolet (1544), et Hugues Salet (1545). Quelques-uns en ont fait honneur à Alain Chartier; mais il n'est de ce poète que dans une édition de 1661 où le texte de ses œuvres a été rajeuni (A. DEBOULLE, *Revue d'hist. litt. de la France*, 1901, pp. 688, 689).

² *Ronsard et la Réforme*, p. 4.

³ Elles s'écartent des indications de Blanchemain dans son édition; elles concordent davantage avec celles de M. PERDRIZET, pp. 16-20, 105, 130, mais pas absolument; enfin elles sont conformes aux vues de M. LAUMONNIER, *Revue universitaire*, 15 février 1903, pp. 152-57, notes 2, 5, 7, 9, 41. On y trouvera une discussion précise, dont nous n'avons gardé que les résultats.

⁴ En 1563, d'après M. PERDRIZET, p. 28.

événements qui inspirèrent ces poèmes, les voici de façon sommaire:¹ conjuration d'Amboise (1560), colloque de Poissy (1562), massacre de Vassy (1562), massacres de Languedoc et de Guyenne par Bl. de Montluc, massacres de Provence et du Dauphiné par le protestant des Adrets, siège de Rouen par Guise et les catholiques, siège de Paris par Condé et les protestants, bataille de Dreux où Guise fait prisonnier Condé (19 décembre 1562), assassinat de Guise à Orléans (18 février 1563), paix d'Amboise (12 mars 1563).

L'écho de ces divers épisodes retentit dans les *Discours*, et les vers qui jaillirent à leur contact, Ronsard les recueillit dans le 6^e volume de l'édition collective de 1567, imprimée un peu avant la seconde guerre civile (le 4 avril). Le caractère de ces pièces est relativement modéré. En 1571, après la troisième guerre civile, Ronsard donne une autre édition collective, accrue de plusieurs poèmes parus en 1569 ou 1570, dont les principaux sont: un "Chant triomphal pour jouer sur la lyre," "Prière à Dieu pour la Victoire," "L'Hydre défait," "Les Éléments ennemis de l'Hydre." Un catholicisme farouche y palpite.² En 1572-73, en 1578, en 1584, d'autres éditions se succédèrent du vivant même de Ronsard. On y remarque des corrections d'ordre moral et d'ordre littéraire. Malgré leur intérêt, tant qu'elles ne constituent que de simples variantes, je les néglige ici, parce qu'elles ne changent pas le ton général de l'œuvre, ni l'ensemble des idées, ni la couleur des sentiments. Quant aux autres, susceptibles de modifier nos impressions, je les signalerai en temps et lieu. Du reste le lecteur en trouvera le détail dans les notes critiques de M. Laumonnier, amères pour Ronsard, mais utiles à l'érudition.³ Rappelons enfin une édition posthume en 1587, sous les auspices de J. Galland et de Cl. Binet, exécuteurs testamentaires de Ron-

¹ LAUMONNIER, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² Pour mieux éclairer la pensée de Ronsard, citons encore la pièce à "Catherine de Médicis," datée de 1564, et qui fait partie du "Bocage royal" (II, 2, édit. 1584); puis, une chanson satirique sur le colloque de Poissy (éd. BLANCHEMAIN, tome VIII, p. 133); tome III, pp. 353, 375, 376; tome VI, pp. 257-64; tome VII, pp. 185-87; tome VIII, pp. 105-9.

³ J'emprunterai mes citations à l'édition BLANCHEMAIN, parce qu'elle suffit au but que je me suis proposé. Mais pour les professeurs et pour les étudiants qu'intéressera une étude exacte du texte en lui-même, cette édition est insuffisante. Il en faut dire autant de l'édition BECQ DE FOUQUIÈRES. Je leur conseillerai de les compléter l'une et l'autre par les notes de M. LAUMONNIER.

sard. C'est l'édition *ne varietur*, expression suprême de la pensée du poète. Car le privilège nous apprend¹ que les œuvres y contenues ont été "revues, corrigées et augmentées par l'auteur peu avant son trépas, et mises en leur ordre suivant ses mémoires et ses copies." De plus, Binet, dans la *Vie de Ronsard* qu'il a placée en tête de cette édition, assure "que cette dernière main de ses œuvres comme un testament porte sa volonté gravée, ainsi qu'il la lui avait recommandée inviolable."

Les *Discours* parurent donc sous la forme légère de pamphlets. Ronsard imitait les Protestants. Ils avaient compris de bonne heure que pour gagner les masses, il fallait aller à elles. Disputer à coups d'in-folio latins, cela n'avancait guère. Ils n'étaient lus que par les savants, et parmi eux les conquêtes sont difficiles. Les Réformés adoptèrent donc un genre de propagande, suivi plus tard par les Jansénistes. Ils traduisirent en français la Bible, les Psaumes; multiplièrent les *Catéchismes*, les *Boucliers de la Foi*, les *Bâtons de la Foi*, et autres écrits de polémique. Commodes par leurs dimensions, intelligibles aux plus humbles esprits, ils se répandirent parmi le peuple avec une merveilleuse rapidité. On peut voir dans le livre de M. Perdrizet² à quel point l'audace des colporteurs était ingénieuse et hardie. Ainsi, l'attrait du mystère, le goût du fruit défendu, la verve éloquente des auteurs assurèrent à ces libelles une vogue immense au grand détriment des catholiques. De ce côté, aucune réponse alerte. La comparaison entre eux et les Réformés devenait facheuse à leur cause. Alors, Ronsard se leva et conçut l'idée de ses *Discours*.³ Créateur en France d'une poésie haute et nouvelle, le chef de la Pléiade ambitionna-t-il la gloire d'un défenseur de la foi? ou du moins a-t-il voulu joindre aux victoires passées un autre triomphe littéraire, et montrer au monde qu'en sa personne et dans tous les champs de culture humaine la Pléiade restait la grande rénovatrice des lettres? Peut-être; et après tout son ambition fut légitime. Mais il ne la déclare pas. Les mobiles qu'il proclame sont d'un ordre plus élevé:

¹ LAUMONIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 152.

² Chap. i, p. 5.

³ Ils susciterent contre lui une armée d'adversaires qui firent pleuvoir sur sa tête une grêle de pamphlets, témoignage d'ailleurs indubitable de sa force et de la crainte qu'il inspirait. Cf. PERDRIZET, chap. ii, pp. 21 sqq.

Or, quand Paris avait sa muraille assiégée,
 Et que la guerre était en ses faux-bourgs logée,
 Et que les morions et les glaives trenchants
 Reluisaient en la ville et reluisaient aux champs,
 Voyant le laboureur tout pensif et tout morne,
 L'un traîner en pleurant sa vache par la corne,
 L'autre porter au col ses enfants et son lit,
 Je m'enfermai trois jours renfrogné de despit,
 Et prenai le papier et l'encre de colère,
 De ce temps malheureux j'escrivis la misère,
 Blasmat les presdicancts lesquels avaient presché
 Que par le fer mutin le peuple fust tranché;
 Blasmat les assassins, les voleurs, et l'outrage
 Des hommes reformez, cruels en brigandage . . .¹

M. Perdrizet n'accepte pas sans étonnement cette entrée en lutte du grand poète de la Pléiade.² Il rappelle avec complaisance qu'il fut l'auteur des *Amours*, des *Gayetés*, des *Bacchanales*, des *Dithyrambes*, des *Folastreries*, bref un epicurien et un voluptueux. Était-ce bien à lui de se poser en champion de la pure doctrine chrétienne? Comment les austères huguenots n'auraient-ils pas souligné avec indignation ce contraste scandaleux? Ils n'y manquèrent pas, et M. Perdrizet fait chorus. Faut-il dire que son étonnement me semble naïf? Sans doute je n'ignore pas qu'après sa valeur intrinsèque, une doctrine se recommande par le mérite de ses docteurs. Mais quoi! Luther, Henri VIII., furent-ils des saints? Marot, Rabelais, Grévin, que d'ailleurs l'on fait protestants plus que de raison, furent-ils plus chrétiens que Ronsard? Ou veut-on dire que d'aider à la diffusion du culte nouveau, cela suffisait à racheter leurs péchés, et que Ronsard, s'il eût consacré son génie à la même cause, aurait cessé d'être un damnable païen? Ne voit-on pas au contraire que son abstention lui eût été amèrement reprochée,³ que l'origi-

¹ Édit. Bl., t. VII, p. 129; cf. "Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," *ibid.*, p. 40. Si ne vois-je pourtant personne . . .

² Chap. iv, p. 51.

³ Et au fait, on la lui a reprochée. HENRI MARTIN a écrit dans son *Histoire de France* (t. IX, pp. 10 sqq.): "Tout en reconnaissant aujourd'hui la valeur littéraire de Ronsard et de quelques-uns de ses acolytes, on ne peut cependant admettre leurs images sur cette voie sacrée de la tradition nationale que bordent les monuments de nos grands écrivains et nos grands artistes. Ils n'appartiennent pas à la vraie France, à cette Gaule française, dont ils étouffent la naïveté primesautière sous leur roideur et leur emphase; exclusivement préoccupés de la forme, affectant une égoïste indifférence pour tout ce qui fait la vraie grandeur

nalité de son initiative réside surtout dans ce fait qu'il s'est arraché à la vie sensuelle ou légère pour s'enfoncer dans une âpre bataille, détourné d'un dilettantisme moral pour reprendre contact avec les réalités poignantes du temps et contribuer de sa part à la défense religieuse et sociale? C'est pourquoi, dans l'étude actuelle de ses *Discours*, je m'inquiète peu si sa conduite l'autorisait à ce rôle. J'admetts seulement qu'essayer de le déshonorer ainsi par avance, c'était de bonne guerre aux protestants. Rien de plus; ou l'arme pourrait se retourner contre eux-mêmes, tout ou moins contre quelques-uns de leurs plus chers amis.

Cependant M. Perdrizet va plus loin; ou plutôt du vieil épicurisme de Ronsard il conclut à un catholicisme tout de surface.¹ Ne confond-il pas deux choses assez distinctes, la croyance et la pratique? Réunies, c'est le chrétien parfait; séparées, c'est le chrétien inconséquent. Toutefois, le défaut de vie chrétienne, s'il prouve la faiblesse du caractère, n'implique pas nécessairement le défaut de conviction. Ronsard, malgré sa légèreté de conduite, a donc pu être un croyant sincère au dogme catholique. Faut-il entendre alors avec M. Perdrizet qu'il combat le protestantisme non pour ses dogmes, mais pour sa morale; que l'austérité de la religion nouvelle l'effraie; que le catholicisme était plus accommodant? De l'austérité réelle des huguenots je ne dirai rien personnellement; mais qu'elle fut la cause des répugnances de Ronsard, j'ai quelque peine à l'admettre, et ma grande raison, c'est qu'il n'y croyait pas, à tort ou à raison. Un extérieur sévère, hypocrite, des paroles fardées, c'est tout ce qu'il leur reconnaît. Leur vie intime, malgré les apparences, n'est pas plus chrétienne.²

Ou si vertu il y a, elle lui semblait trop étalée pour être sincère. Elle n'avait pas l'air de France. Elle était intolérante, triste, glacée. Elle éteignait le rire, la joie, proscrivait les arts. Genève, sous la férule de Calvin, était inhabitable aux libres esprits. Et il est vrai d'affirmer avec M. Perdrizet qu'en ce sens l'austérité huguenote déplaisait à Ronsard et sans doute à la plupart de ses

de l'homme pour les problèmes qui bouleversaient leur siècle, ils manquèrent cette forme qu'ils cherchaient avec tant de passion, et ne comprirrent pas que les grands sentiments furent seuls les grands styles." Naif H. Martin! dit M. BRUNETIÈRE (*op. cit.*, p. 387). Evidemment il n'avait pas lu les *Discours des misères de ce temps*.

¹ Chap. v.

"Continuation," Bl., t. VII, p. 27 et "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 60.

contemporains. Rien de plus. Je ne dis pas que ce sentiment soit très-chrétien; mais il est assez français. Nous détestons les grimaces pieuses, les momeries, l'austérité sombre et tyannique. Au reste Calvin ni ses partisans n'ont le monopole de la vertu:

Elle a le dos ailé, elle passe la mer,
Elle s'en-vole au ciel, elle marche sur terre . . .

et tour à tour, elle visite tous les peuples à tous les coins de l'horizon.¹ Inutile d'embrasser l'évangile nouveau. Celui de l'Église suffit. Ce n'est pas l'avis de M. Perdrizet; il assure que le catholicisme gênait moins la licence des poètes de la Pléiade. Ici, il faudrait préciser. Le catholicisme de Charles IX. et de Henri III, soit; mais je ne pense pas qu'on veuille le confondre tout à fait avec celui de l'Église elle-même. En tout cas, Ronsard, si faible qu'il fut dans ses passions, ne les autorisa jamais de sa foi. Si donc il lui resta fidèle, ce dut être pour des motifs plus graves. Notez qu'il n'est pas aveugle sur les abus de la religion romaine:

. . . Depuis saint Gregoire,
Nul pape dont le nom soit écrit dans l'histoire
En chaire ne prescha . . .

Des enfants de quinze ans, de jeunes muguet tiennent le gouvernement; ils vivent sans peine,

Sans prescher, sans prier, sans bon exemple d'eux,
Parfumez, découpez, courtisans, amoureux.

L'Église

. . . fut jadis fondée en humblesse d'esprit,
En toute patience, en toute obéissance,
Sans argent, sans crédit, sans force ny puissance,
Pauvre, nue, exilée, ayant jusques aux os
Les coups de fouets sanglants imprimez sur le dos;
Et la voir aujourd'hui riche, grasse et hautaine,
Toute pleine d'escus, de rente et de domaine?
Ses ministres enflés et ses Papes encor
Pompeusement vestus de soye et de drap d'or!²

Notez encore que le protestantisme faillit le séduire:

¹ "Réponse," *ibid.*, pp. 120, 121.

² "Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," *ibid.*, p. 42; cf. "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 68; *ibid.*, p. 75; "Réponse," *ibid.*, p. 110.

J'ay autrefois gousteé, quand j'estais jeune d'âge,
Du miel empoisonné de vostre doux breuvage.¹

* * * * *

Si vous n'eussiez parlé que d'amender l'Église,
Que d'oster les abus de l'avare prestrise,
Je vous eusse suivi, et n'eusse pas esté
Le moindre des suivants qui vous ont escouté.²

Mais s'il hait les abus, il aime toujours l'Église.³ Il résiste donc aux séductions de la doctrine réformée, aux invitations flatteuses de ses partisans. Pourquoi ? Par des raisons que M. Brunetièvre appelle des raisons de théologien,⁴ et M. Perdrizet des objections de chancellerie.⁵ Examinons-les. Nous déciderons après. Ronsard s'en tient à la tradition ; il n'admet pas que tant d'hommes savants et pieux aient erré si longtemps, que Dieu ait laissé pendant quinze siècles l'humanité sans lumière sur la véritable Église :⁶

Le libre examen le révolte par son orgueil, un double orgueil. Premièrement, les Réformés se croient les interprètes assurés de la parole de Dieu.

. . . Les Docteurs de ces sectes nouvelles,
Comme si l'Esprit saint avait usé ses ailes
À s'appuyer sur eux . . .
Sans que honte ou vergogne en leur coeur trouve trace,
Parlent profondément des mystères de Dieu,
Ils sont ses conseillers, ils sont ses secrétaires,
Ils savent ses avis, ils savent ses affaires,
Ils ont la clef du ciel, et y entrent tout seuls,
Et qui y veut entrer, il faut parler à eux.⁷

Ensuite leur outrecuidance va jusqu'à vouloir expliquer les mystères, l'inconnaissable. Et Ronsard les en raille ; ou plutôt en vers pleins et graves, il leur rappelle que le secret de Dieu est impénétrable, et que la modestie convient à notre raison, infirme dans les choses naturelles les plus simples.⁸ Du reste voici le châtiment de cette présomption. Le sens propre entraîne les Réformés dans un abîme de variations :

¹ "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

⁵ Chap. vi, p. 76.

⁶ "Flégie à Guillaume des Autels," Bl., t. VII, p. 41.

⁷ "Remonstrance," Bl., t. VII, p. 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Les apostres jadis preschaient tous d'un accord;
 Entre vous aujourd'hui ne règne que discord;
 Les uns sont Zwingliens, les autres Lutheristes,
 Les autres Puritains, Quintins, Anabaptistes . . .
 Vous devriez pour le moins, avant que nous troubler,
 Etre ensemble d'accord sans vous désassembler;
 Car Christ n'est pas un Dieu de noise ny discorde:
 Christ n'est que charité, qu'amour et que concorde,
 Et montrez clairement par la division
 Que Dieu n'est point autheur de vostre opinion.¹

En vérité, je ne sais pourquoi M. Perdrizet dédaigne ces raisons comme surannées ou de mince valeur. Surannées, elles le sont, comme la tradition qui puise sa force dans son antiquité même. Ce n'est pas une petite gloire à un penseur de devancer Pascal et Bossuet. Je ne veux pas écraser Ronsard par le voisinage de ces grands noms. Mais je remarque avec Brunetièrre qu'il les rappelle; et M. Perdrizet a-t-il songé que Pascal et Bossuet ont fait, après tous les Pères de l'Église, les mêmes objections à l'hérésie, je veux dire au protestantisme, et qu'en tombant de leur plume, elles sont peut-être quelque chose de plus que des objections de chancellerie? En tout cas, il doit bien admettre qu'ici Ronsard pensait en vrai catholique, tout pénétré du pur esprit catholique, et donc qu'il fut autre chose qu'un humaniste païen. Que si l'on trouve ces raisons trop extérieures à la religion, qu'on lise les vers sur la justification par la foi, sur la présence réelle.² Ronsard s'y explique nettement sur les points essentiels. Comment, après lecture de ces passages et d'autres analogues, M. Perdrizet peut-il prétendre que le poète ne connaît pas les dogmes nouveaux?³ Je sais bien que ce critique appelle le catholicisme un christianisme d'autorité, et la Réforme un christianisme de liberté, tout intérieur.⁴ Ronsard aurait pu répondre que celui-ci peut s'accorder avec celui-là, qu'il en fut ainsi aux premiers siècles de l'Église, et même depuis. S'il ne parle pas de ce christianisme cher à M. Perdrizet, c'est qu'il ne le trouve pas chez ses amis, c'est qu'il croit en trouver justement le contraire;

¹"Continuation," *ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

²Chap. vi, pp. 71, 72.

²"Remonstrance," *ibid.*, pp. 57, 58.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 76.

Eh quoy ! brusler maisons, piller et brigander,
 Tuer, assassiner, par force commander,
 N'obéir plus aux Rois, amasser des armées,
 Appelez-vous cela Eglises reformées ?
 Jésus que seulement vous confessez ici
 De bouche et non de cœur ne faisait pas ainsi;
 Et saint Paul en preschant n'avait pour toutes armes
 Sinon l'humilité, les jeusnes et les larmes;
 Et les pères martyrs aux plus dures saisons
 Des tyrans ne s'armaient sinon que d'oraisons.¹

Mettons qu'il se trompe sur la valeur morale de la Réforme, ainsi que je le pense; mais ne disons pas qu'il n'a rien vu, qu'il n'a connu ni le protestantisme ni les protestants. Il me semble au contraire que ce poète, nourri d'imaginactions païennes, ne fut pas exclusivement préoccupé de choses d'art ou de volupté. Il pense, il raisonne, il discute non-seulement avec éloquence mais avec une intelligence très-avisée. Qu'il n'ait rien d'un Calvin ou d'un Théodore de Bèze, je le veux bien. Mais Marot non plus. Pourquoi reprocher ce malheur au seul Ronsard, dont au surplus ce n'était pas l'affaire d'écrire une "Institution chrétienne." Je conçois que M. Perdrizet ne soit pas ému de ses arguments. Où Ronsard et d'autres, après lui, voient de l'orgueil, la ruine de toute religion positive, je veux dire dans le libre examen, notre écrivain salue la source d'une religion libre et sincère. Les variations continues du protestantisme, signe d'erreur pour Ronsard et Bossuet, lui semblent une preuve de vitalité immortelle. Soit; je ne suis pas assez grand clerc en la matière pour discuter avec lui, même si j'en avais le goût. Seulement il a tort de refuser à Ronsard la sincérité et la conviction raisonnée de sa foi. Elles éclatent dans les *Discours*.

M. Perdrizet préfère insister sur le patriotisme et le loyalisme du chef de la Pléiade. Je ne veux pas insinuer que c'est un moyen d'affaiblir la portée de ces poèmes, que cela reviendrait à dire: les *Discours* n'ont aucune valeur religieuse; les meilleurs arguments sont d'un conservateur en politique. Donc l'œuvre est intéressée; pas le moindre soupçon des questions profondes qui agitaient les âmes. Si je force un peu les sentiments de l'auteur,

¹"Continuation," Bl., t. VII, p. 18.

je ne calomnie pas la pensée d'autres critiques. M. Lanson a écrit dans la *Revue universitaire*,¹ à propos justement du livre de M. Perdrizet: "le patriotisme et l'intérêt me paraissent les mobiles profonds de Ronsard." Et M. Laumonnier dans la même *Revue*:²

Il serait facile de montrer combien se cachait d'intérêt personnel sous les apparentes convictions de Ronsard. A aucun moment de sa carrière, il n'a été poète plus officiel et solliciteur plus pressant. L'egoïsme a été bien plus encore que le patriotisme sa vraie muse en ces années-là : ce fut la cause principale de l'éloquence et du lyrisme de ses *Discours*.

Voilà qui est net. Il serait superflu de rechercher si l'esprit de parti n'inspire pas en sourdine quelques-uns de ces jugements. Voyons plutôt en toute indépendance si leur sévérité est justifiée.

La Réforme, odieuse à Ronsard catholique, le fut davantage peut-être à Ronsard patriote. Il aimait la France pour son climat, sa richesse, sa beauté.³ *Une foy, une loy, un royaume*; à l'ombre de cette devise, la France avait merveilleusement prospéré. Survient la Réforme, et le sol est jonché de ruines. Ronsard s'indigne avec éloquence :

Ha ! que diront là-bas, sous leurs tombes poudreuses,
De tant de vaillants roys les âmes généreuses ?
Que dira Pharamond, Clodion et Clovis ?
Nos Pepins, nos Martels, nos Charles, nos Loys ?
Qui de leur propre sang versé parmy la guerre
Ont acquis à nos Roys une aussi belle terre ? etc.⁴

Mais, dira-t-on, les droits de la conscience ? C'est entendu, ils sont sacrés, au-dessus des lois humaines. Ronsard y croyait, nous le montrerons tout à l'heure. Mais il pensait, peut-être avec raison, qu'ils n'exigent pas la révolte à main armée, le sang répandu, tous les crimes enfin des guerres civiles. Les Protestants devaient ramener les temps héroïques et saints du jeune christianisme. Ronsard a beau jeu pour souligner le contraste entre leurs prétentions et leur conduite.⁵ D'ailleurs la doctrine nouvelle, venue de l'étranger, lui est suspecte à ce titre même.

¹ 15 novembre 1902, p. 373.

² 15 février 1903, p. 149, note 4.

³ *Églogues*, "Chanson des pasteurs." Cf. "Hymne à la France," publié en 1549, retranché plus tard du recueil de ses *Oeuvres*; cf. "Continuation," Bl., t. VII, p. 29; Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," pp. 43, 44.

⁴ "Discours des misères de ce temps," Bl., t. VII, p. 11.

⁵ "Continuation," *ibid.*, p. 18.

Je n'aime point ces noms qui sont finis en *ots*,
 Gots, Cagots, Austrogots, Visigots, Huguenots.
 Ils sont prodigieux à l'empire de France.¹

* * * * * * * * *
 Ils faillent de laisser le chemin de leurs pères,
 Pour ensuivre le train des sectes étrangères.²

Assurément l'Esprit souffle où il veut, la lumière est bonne à recevoir, d'où qu'elle vienne, pourvu qu'elle soit évidemment la lumière. Or, rien ne l'imposait à Ronsard, et si, en bon humaniste, il est convaincu qu'est toujours vraie la pensée du poète: *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, comment le lui reprocher? D'autant que les événements justifiaient ses craintes. Les Réformés, poussés par la parenté religieuse, faisaient appel à l'étranger. Et Ronsard proteste avec une tristesse éloquente.³ S'ils avaient eu, dit-il, son patriotisme, ni les rétrécis allemands, ni "les blonds nourrissons de la froide Angleterre," n'eussent fait leur proie de la France malheureuse.⁴ Certes, je n'ignore pas qu'au milieu des discordes civiles, la fumée des combats peut obscurcir le chemin du devoir. C'est une excuse. Mais, religion mise à part, on peut admettre que le patriotisme de Ronsard était clairvoyant. Et ici, il est inutile d'opposer à ses justes plaintes les connivences de son propre parti avec l'Espagne. Nul plus que lui ne les a déplorées.⁵ C'est pourquoi, devant ses adversaires, il garde le droit de leur crier son indignation. Elle est sincère et légitime. Aussi, je ne comprends pas bien, après tant de citations que M. Laumonnier ait pu écrire "qu'en fait d'étrangers Ronsard en a voulu surtout à ceux qui obtenaient au lieu de lui les abbayes et les pensions, en particulier les avares Italiens."⁶ Sans doute, il fut intéressé; nous le dirons tout à l'heure. Mais il a été autre chose, et c'est pour autre chose qu'il s'est jeté dans la mêlée. La ruine matérielle et politique de la France, l'invasion, avec son noir cortège de maux, Ronsard en a cru voir clairement les causes. Son patriotisme en souffre, et, avec sa foi, c'est lui surtout qui l'éloigne des protestants. S'il est farouche, parfois, s'il pousse à la vengeance, si un souffle de haine le traverse, ce n'est pas seule-

¹ "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 61.

² "Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," *ibid.*, p. 41.

³ "Continuation," *ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴ "Réponse," *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵ "Discours des misères de ce temps," *ibid.*, p. 14; "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 69. ⁶ P. 100.

ment, comme dit M. Laumonnier,¹ parce que les protestants avaient tenté de l'assassiner physiquement et moralement. Certes, en ce cas, il lui était bien permis d'être ému plus que de raison. Toutefois les tentatives contre sa personne, les pamphlets suivirent son entrée en campagne. Que cela l'ait enfoncé plus avant dans la lutte, d'accord. Mais cela ne l'a pas inspiré. En réalité, l'amour de la France tient aux racines profondes de son cœur, et toute insulte à cette mère le soulève hors de lui.² Amour malgré tout bien pur, celui qui dicte ces vers :

De Bèze, je te prie, escoute ma parole . . .
 La terre qu'aujourd'hui tu remplis toute d'armes . . .
 De Bèze, ce n'est pas une terre gothique
 Ny une région Tartare ny Seythique ;
 C'est celle où tu naquis, qui douce te receust,
 Alors qu'à Vézelay ta mère te conceust ;
 Celle qui t'a nourry et qui t'a fait apprendre
 La science et les arts dès ta jeunesse tendre,
 Pour luy faire service et pour en bien user,
 Et non, comme tu fais, à fin d'en abuser.³

Enfin, après les déchirements de ces longues guerres, touché des malheurs du pays, les ardeurs de la lutte éteintes, Ronsard fait entendre des paroles de paix. Il invoque la tolérance et la

¹ P. 150. Cf. Bl., t. VII, p. 70, derniers vers; et *ibid.*, pp. 87-95.

² Après avoir loué Coligny, fidèle à sa foi première (Bl., t. V, pp. 42, 43, 63, 295; t. VI, p. 304), il fait des vœux pour sa mort, t. VII, p. 153. De même, il demande à Dieu la mort de Condé, s'il ne désarme point, t. VII, p. 80. Plus tard, la paix faite en 1563, il revient à l'éloge du prince, t. VII, pp. 128, 129. Enfin, Condé redevenant en 1565 chef des Huguenots avec Coligny, Ronsard célèbre leurs défaites, et particulièrement la mort de Condé à Jarnac, 1569 ("Chant triomphal pour jouer sur la lyre," ou "Hymne," IX Bl., t. V, p. 146). M. LAUMONNIER blâme cette conduite opposée (p. 157, n. 1). Il l'attribue à la muse courtisanesque et prostituée du poète (*Revue d'hist. littéraire de la France*, juillet-sept. 1902, p. 444). Courtisan, Ronsard le fut, et trop, je l'avoue. Toutefois cette "palinodie" à l'égard de Coligny et de Condé fut-elle seulement un effet de la courtisanerie? Certes, elle ne devait pas déplaire à la cour. Mais Ronsard proclame des sentiments d'un ordre plus élevé, qui s'accordent avec les sentiments généraux des *Discours*. Quoiqu'il en soit de ses habitudes courtoises, nous devons croire à sa sincérité, quand il explique sa conduite par ces vers (t. VII, p. 75) :

". . . l'amour du pays et de ses lois aussi
 Et de la vérité me fait parler ainsi."

Il vaut dire sans doute que, dévoué à ces personnages, tant qu'eux-mêmes furent dévoués à l'Eglise et au roi, il les traita en ennemis, quand ils trahirent leurs devoirs, quand, véritables chefs de la révolte, il pouvait les considérer auteurs responsables des maux qui la suivirent. Je suis loin pourtant d'excuser ses souhaits sanglants, et encore moins ces pièces d'accent cruel: "Prière à Dieu pour la victoire," l'"Hydre défaît," l'"Hymne aux estoilles;" elles s'expliquent, sans se justifier, lorsqu'on tient compte de toutes les circonstances.

³"Continuation," Bl., t. VII, p. 21.

douceur dans la répression.¹ Ce n'est pas une palinodie. Mais le patriotisme, qui l'avait jeté dans la bataille, ce même patriotisme, mieux éclairé sur les besoins de la France, lui inspirait des accents de concorde. Et cela, à l'époque de la Ligue, quand les fureurs meurtrières étaient encore déchainées. Preuve de sa clairvoyance et de sa sincérité courageuse.

Parce qu'il aime la France, Ronsard soutient ses rois. Chez lui, patriotisme et loyalisme ne font qu'un. Et au fait, en ces temps-là, la France, c'était le roi; il la personnifiait; tous les coups qu'on lui adressait retombaient sur elle. On serait donc mal venu de reprocher à Ronsard son royalisme. Que dirait-on alors de Marot, de Calvin qui dédie l'"Institution chrétienne" à François I^r; de Coligny, "imbu d'idolâtrie monarchique;" d'Anne du Bourg prêt "à bailler au Prince son sang, voire jusqu'à sa chemise"?² Seulement cet amour n'empêchait pas leur révolte. Ronsard conçoit autrement son devoir. Son royalisme est ardemment sincère. Qu'on lise l'"Épitaphe pour le tombeau de Marguerite de France," où il pleure sur

le sang valesien
Qui de beautés, de grâce et de lustre, ressemble
Au lys qui naist, fleurit, et se meurt tout ensemble.³

Devant les tombes prématûrément ouvertes, où descendirent à la fleur des ans Henri II., François II., Charles IX., sans compter auparavant les fils de François I^r, son cœur s'épanche en accents profondément émus. Aussi, lorsque de leur vivant, il s'indigne contre les Réformés, dont la sédition abreuve de soucis et de chagrins leur royaute, sa tendresse est aussi atteinte que son patriotisme. Dire que c'est "le dévouement d'un petit gentilhomme poète qui ne subsiste que par la bonté des rois, sans terre ni alliances, ni subsistance aucune hors la faveur royale;"⁴ expliquer "son fanatisme par des raisons égoïstes, reconnaissance à l'égard de ses bienfaiteurs royaux . . ."⁵ par le besoin de faire la cour aux Guise et à Catherine de Médicis, n'est-ce pas rapetisser de parti-pris un sentiment qui ne manquait pas de noble hardiesse?

¹ Cf. PERDEZET, chap. xi, pp. 134, sqq.

² Ibid., p. 104.

³ Bl. t. VII, pp. 177-91

⁴ LANSON, *Revue universitaire*, 15 nov. 1902, p. 373.

⁵ LAUMONNIER, *ibid.*, 15 fév. 1903, p. 150.

S'il obéissait à des motifs aussi bas, qu'on nous dise alors pourquoi il ne s'adresse pas aux Châtillon, aux Condé, enfin aux têtes puissantes du protestantisme? L'issue de la lutte était incertaine à l'époque des *Discours*. Catherine de Médicis hésita longtemps entre les deux partis. Jusqu'en 1564, voire même jusqu'en 1569, personne ne pouvait deviner où pencherait la balance. Un poète intéressé eût évité de se compromettre; et qui sait? il n'eût rien perdu à se mettre du côté des Réformés. Car enfin ils lui procuraient avances et promesses. S'il les dédaigna, c'est qu'il chérissait davantage son pays et ses rois. Certes, il aimait les bénéfices, et trop, si l'on veut. Comme Corneille, plus tard, "il fut saoul de gloire et affamé d'argent."¹ Mais si personne n'osera imputer à l'intérêt les nobles inspirations du poète dramatique, si malgré les dédicaces à la Montorron,² il reste le grand Corneille, pourquoi Ronsard cesserait-il d'être un patriote sincère, un royaliste convaincu, parce que le soin de sa fortune s'est concilié avec son loyalisme, ou pour avoir payé un large tribut à la reconnaissance? Aimerait-on mieux qu'il eût été ingrat? M. Perdrizet voit plus juste; il note complaisamment sans doute le côté quémandeur de Ronsard, mais il rend hommage à la sincérité de "son idolâtrie monarchique."³ Et s'il est vrai qu'en cette circonstance le poète représente l'opinion de ses contemporains, sa fidélité n'en est que plus significative. Nous pouvons croire que ce n'est pas l'intérêt seul qui l'a maintenue, mais, avec un dévouement spontané, la conviction que la cause des rois était liée à la cause même de la France. Qu'il ait eu tort ou raison, la question n'est pas là. Nous en sommes à discerner ses vrais sentiments. M. Perdrizet reconnaît la pure qualité de son patriottisme. Même il explique par les idées politiques du patriote les idées religieuses du catholique.⁴ Je crois l'explication fausse. La foi me paraît indépendante de son loyalisme. Mais je trouve l'affirmation du critique bien imprudente. Si elle était vraie, cela reviendrait à dire que catholique et français ne faisaient qu'un. Quelle plus terrible condamnation du protestantisme? Telle n'est pas la pensée de M. Perdrizet ni des critiques sérieux

¹ Cité par LANSON, *Corneille*, p. 21.

² *Cinna* Dédicace.

³ PERDRIZET, pp. 106, 108.

⁴ P. 106.

que nous avons nommés. Et en effet ces deux sentiments ne sont pas à confondre. C'est pourtant à cette confusion que mènerait leur polémique.

Je la trouve encore injuste sur un autre point. M. Lanson écrit: "L'humanisme fournit les beaux lieux communs dont s'étoffent et se pavoisent ces sentiments primitifs: idée d'un état pacifique et bien ordonné, idée d'un empire bienfaisant, que décorent des poètes bien payés," etc.¹ Et M. Laumonnier: "Il resta humaniste dans ses *Discours* avec une âme superficiellement catholique et un art profondément païen."² Ronsard célébra la paix, l'ordre, la soumission aux lois. Ce sont des lieux communs, j'en conviens. Mais veut-on insinuer par là que chez Ronsard, ils constituent un développement de rhéteur, qu'il imite seulement Lucrèce, Horace, Properce, Virgile? Il faudrait alors n'avoir pas lu l'"Ode sur la paix," datée de 1550, où l'on trouve ces vers émus:

Je te salue, heureuse Paix,
Je te salue et re-salue:
Toy seule, déesse, tu fais
que la vie soit mieux voulue.
Ainsi que les champs tapissez
de pampre, ou d'espics hérissez
désirent les filles des nues
après les chaleurs survenues,
Ainsi la France t'attendait,
douce nourricière des hommes.
En lieu du fer outrageux,
des menaces et des flames,
tu nous rameines les jeux,
le bal et l'amour des dames.³

Les anciens lui ont-ils inspiré le christianisme qui remplit la première partie de l'"Exhortation pour la paix"?⁴ Il y invite les combattants à se réconcilier sur le dos des Turcs, à les chasser du saint sépulcre qu'ils déshonorent, à planter en terre sainte les étendards du Christ. J'indiquerai encore le poème des "Armes."⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 373.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

³ Bl., t. II, p. 25.

⁴ Bl., t. VI, pp. 212, 213, 210.

⁵ Poèmes (1560), t. VI, pp. 39 sqq. Si l'on veut à toute force que Ronsard ait imité quelqu'un, mieux vaut comme M. VIANEY (*Revue universitaire*, 15 mai 1903) rapprocher ces pièces du *Roland Furieux* de l'ARISTOTE, chap. xvii, sts. 75-79, pour l'"Exhortation pour la paix," à propos des Turcs; et chap. xix, sts. 28, 29, 74, 75; chap. xi, sts. 24-27, pour le poème sur les "Armes" (malédictions contre les armes à feu).

Il y a là des imprécations d'un accent trop sincère pour ressembler aux exercices littéraires d'un humaniste. Et du reste, Ronsard semble avoir répondu par avance à ce reproche, quand il nous raconte dans son premier *Discours* à quelles inspirations il obéit.¹ Pour la forme, pour le fond même, de ces poèmes, il a pu se souvenir des anciens. Et pourquoi pas? C'était son droit, dès lors qu'il versait dans ce moule antique, sinon une matière nouvelle, du moins une chaleur personnelle, et qu'il vivifiait ces lieux communs d'une conviction propre. Ce n'est pas à M. Lanson qu'il faut apprendre la véritable originalité. Nos grands classiques, et Victor Hugo en particulier, nous ont enseigné par leurs exemples où est vraiment l'invention créatrice, ce qu'on peut faire des idées générales quand on a du génie. C'est donc peine inutile de vouloir amoindrir les *Discours* en leur accolant l'épi-thète commode d'humanisme.

En revanche, cet humanisme se trahit ailleurs et d'autre manière, dans les plaintes que Ronsard formule contre les tumultes de la guerre, obstacles au labeur tranquille de l'étude.² Il en veut aux protestants d'interrompre ses travaux de poète, d'en compromettre les résultats. Il soupire encore après les plaisirs de cour, après les jeux des Muses, et dans une "Élégie à Catherine de Médicis,"³ qui voyage à travers la France, il supplie la reine de retourner aux Tuilleries ou dans quelqu'un de ses châteaux, pour y renouveler les mascarades, les aubades, et autres divertissements. Or, si je comprends ces regrets chez un poète, dont tous les goûts d'artiste étaient flattés par l'éclat des fêtes royales, je conviens avec M. Perdrizet que ce n'était pas l'heure de les exprimer. Quand la discorde civile déchaîne ses fureurs, quand la patrie saigne, quand la religion nationale est secouée jusqu'en ses fondements, il y a d'autres plaintes à gémir. Ronsard l'a oublié. Mais ne disons pas que tel fut le fond de son âme, que l'humanisme explique son patriotisme, enfin que ces deux sentiments, omission faite ou à peu près de sa foi religieuse, inspirèrent les *Discours*. Dit M. Lanson:

Les arguments de Ronsard contre l'hérésie, sont des arguments extérieurs qui impliquent un refus d'examiner les questions théolo-

¹ V. plus haut, p. 5.

² PERDRIZET, chap. viii.

³ *Bocage royal*, II, 2, éd. 1584.

giques. Et ce refus n'est possible dans un esprit cultivé, que quand ces questionsne sont plus pour lui les questions vitales. Déjà pour Ronsard la religion n'est plus, à son insu, qu'une forme extérieure, une cérémonie habituelle que recommandent l'usage des ancêtres et la loi du royaume, une partie des convenances et des institutions; la vie de sa conscience n'est plus là et ne s'y alimente plus. Et ici l'humanisme reprend sa place prépondérante; la philosophie des anciens tend chez Ronsard à se substituer à la religion chrétienne comme directrice de la vie et éducatrice de la conscience. Ronsard est catholique pour les mêmes raisons que Montaigne.¹

Et à son tour M. Laumonnier:²

De convictions profondes peu ou point, comme chez Montaigne, bien qu'il se dise ainsi que lui partisan de l'ancien train contre les nouvelletés.

Nous avons essayé de montrer plus haut que les arguments de Ronsard, même au point de vue théologique, n'étaient pas aussi légers qu'on veut bien le prétendre. Mais en outre et une fois de plus, nous nous étonnons qu'on réclame de lui des controverses dogmatiques sur le fond même des questions qui divisaient les esprits. En eût-il été capable, la forme même de ses *Discours*, petits pamphlets, n'y prétait guère. Et si elles étaient au-dessus de ses forces, nous ne saurions l'en mépriser. Car en vérité ce n'était pas son affaire. Il est entré dans la querelle, non en théologien, mais en simple catholique lettré et en bon Français. Que veut-on de plus? Il est bien facile de l'accabler quand on lui reproche de n'avoir pas fait ce qu'il ne voulait pas faire. Et conclure, comme certains critiques, qu'il n'avait pas de convictions profondes, que la question religieuse n'était pas pour lui une question vitale, c'est aller bien loin, trop loin. Encore un coup, je ne veux point rappeler les raisons traditionnelles qu'il a données de sa croyance. Mais si on les dédaigne parce que traditionnelles, qu'on veuille remarquer de quel ton chaleureux Ronsard les expose, le ton d'un homme qui croit fermement. Ajoutez la belle profession de foi grave, solide, éloquente qu'on trouve dans la "Réponse aux prédicants."³ C'est un *credo* bien catholique; ce n'est pas une vaine formule; car il est prêt à mourir pour elle. Malgré les abus,

¹ *Revue universitaire*, 15 nov. 1902, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, 15 fév. 1903, p. 150.

³ Bl., t. VII, pp. 107-10.

Je ne me veux pourtant séparer de l'Église,
Ny ne ferai jamais ! Plustost par mille efforts,
Je voudrais endurer l'horreur de mille morts.¹

Quant à la religion du prédicant qui l'a insulté,
je proteste,
s'écrie-t-il,

que si horriblement ton erreur je déteste,
Que mille et mille morts j'ayme mieux recevoir
Que laisser ma raison de ton fard décevoir.²

* * * * *
... l'Évangile saint du Sauveur Jésus-Christ
m'a fermement gravée une foy dans l'esprit,
que je ne veux changer pour une foy nouvelle;
Et dussé-je endurer une mort très-cruelle,
De tant de nouveautés je ne suis curieux !³

Dira-t-on qu'il est facile de braver la mort en vers ? Soit ; j'ignore en effet si Ronsard eût, à l'occasion, accepté le martyre. Mais tout de même, estimer, voire en vers, sa foi, plus cher que sa vie, c'est montrer qu'elle n'est pas purement extérieure à l'âme, quoiqu'elle n'ait pas toujours réglé la conscience. En tout cas, je sais bien que Montaigne, à qui l'on compare volontiers Ronsard, n'a jamais parlé de mourir pour sa foi ; il s'en tient paresseusement au train de ses aieux, sans se mêler aux polémiques irritantes, sans s'expliquer à lui-même, ou du moins sans expliquer aux autres ses raisons. L'humaniste et l'égoïste, le voilà. Ronsard est autre.

Concluons : M. Brunetière simplifie, en les ennoblissant plus que de raison, les mobiles de l'auteur des *Discours*. Trop attentif peut-être aux troubles de l'époque présente, il cherche des analogies et des arguments dans le passé. Cette préoccupation n'est guère scientifique. M. Perdrizet mieux renseigné, impartial dans une assez large manière, cherche à expliquer avec une psychologie souvent heureuse les opinions de Ronsard, surtout par des raisons politiques et littéraires. Sans parler de mes réserves, même sur ce point, j'ai montré qu'il ne rend pas justice à ses convictions catholiques. Les *Discours* ont été composés au souffle des discordes civiles. Les sentiments de Ronsard furent complexes.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Il y entre de la reconnaissance pour ses princes, de la haine pour ses adversaires qui l'avaient outragé, du conservatisme politique, enfin de la littérature humaniste. Qu'on fasse de ces mobiles bonne mesure, j'y souscris; car il y a trace de tout cela dans ces poèmes, et je l'ai noté après d'autres. Mais quand on est convenu de ces éléments plus ou moins purs, il reste qu'une très grande part, la principale, revient à la sincérité de sa foi, une foi très raisonnée—à l'ardeur de son patriotisme, un patriotisme très noble—à sa ferveur monarchique, plus désintéressée qu'on ne l'assure, et d'ailleurs très avisée dans son loyalisme. Il reste encore que penseur, polémiste, orateur en vers il dépasse son époque. "Jamais la poésie en France n'avait eu ces accents ni ce rôle."¹ C'est pourquoi et à ce titre, les *Discours* s'élèvent audessus des *Amours*, des *Hymnes* et des *Élégies*. Pour faire bref, ils sont bien une date dans l'histoire de la littérature française.

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¹ E. FAGUET, XVI^e siècle, p. 254.

ZUM GOTISCHEN ALPHABET.¹

DIE beiden ansichten über das von Wulfila bei der herstellung seines alphabets eingeschlagene verfahren, die sich geltung zu verschaffen gewusst haben, sind die von Zacher verteidigte und diejenige Wimmers. Ersterer kommt zu dem schlusse, dass das von Wulfila benutzte griechische alphabet ihm mehr ideell als materiell zur grundlage gedient hat, dass er vielmehr ganz im geiste der alten heimischen schriftentwickelung verfahren ist, indem er entweder seine runen nur veränderte, um sie den griechischen buchstaben ähnlich zu machen, oder griechische formen aufnahm, wo die runen unzweckmässig erschienen, oder die runen fast unverändert beibehielt, wo sich für den betreffenden laut ein passendes griechisches zeichen nicht darbot, oder schliesslich denjenigen runen, die freigeworden waren und mit einem zeichen des griechischen alphabets der gestalt nach zusammenfielen, die geltung des griechischen zeichens gab.² Ahnlich drückt sich auch Raszmann aus,³ dass Wulfila's alphabet noch immer den allgemeinen character der runenschrift beibehielt, wenn er auch das griechische alphabet und dessen ordnung zu grunde legte und auch dem lateinischen, namentlich der current-schrift, einfluss gestattete.

Aber die gegenwärtig allgemein acceptierte ansicht von dem ursprung des gotischen alphabets beruht ganz und gar auf den von Wimmer erlangten resultaten, wie er sie im *Anhang I* seiner *Runenschrift, Das Wulfilanische alphabet*, ss. 259-74, darlegt. Er hält dafür, dass das gotische alphabet das griechische zur grundlage⁴ hat, welches letztere den grösseren teil der buchstaben

¹ Die notwendigkeit Wimmers ansicht von dem ursprung des Wulfilanischen alphabets noch einmal einer genauen prüfung zu unterziehen, pflegte schon der vor mehreren jahren verstorbene professor Hench zu betonen, und es war seine absicht, während des letzten sommers in seinem leben seine gründe für eine entgegenstehende meinung genau auszuarbeiten. Der unglückfall, der seinen tod herbeiführte, verhinderte ihn daran. Wiederholte gespräche mit ihm über diese frage und einige schriftliche aufzeichnungen, die er schon dazu gemacht hatte, habe ich verwerten können; so gereicht es mir zur genugthuung, dass ich darauf fussend das folgende zur verteidigung seiner ansicht vorbringen kann.

² ZACHER, *Das got. alph. Wulfila's und das runenalph.*, ss. 52 f.

³ ERSCH U. GRUBER, *Allg. encyklopädie d. wiss. u. künste*, I, 75, ss. 301 ff. ⁴ Ss. 262, 270.

für das erstere abgegeben und auch mit bezug auf die reihenfolge der buchstaben als muster gedient hat. Aus dem lateinischen nahm Wulfila sechs buchstaben in das seinige auf und zwar aus verschiedenen gründen:

1. weil für gewisse gotische laute, wie got. *h* und *j*, das griechische überhaupt keine zeichen besass (s. 266);
2. weil im falle des *f* der lateinische buchstabe *f* den gotischen laut genauer wiedergab als griech. *φ*, da das gotische und lateinische einen labiodentalen, das griechische aber einen bilabialen laut hatte (ss. 263, 266);
3. weil die griechischen zeichen *P* und *C* mit den lateinischen von verschiedener bedeutung zusammenfielen (s. 266);
4. wurde aus verschiedenen complizierten gründen, die Wulfila genügend für seine wahl erschienen, *u* im werte von *q* aus dem lateinischen aufgenommen (s. 267);
5. fanden auch zwei buchstaben aus dem runischen futhark aufnahme in das neue alphabet, ohne dass Wimmer einen klaren grund dafür anzugeben weiss, wenn er auch sagt, dass sie vielleicht deswegen aus dem runenalphabet aufgenommen wurden, weil sie besonders bequem zu schreiben waren (s. 270);

Wimmer fasst seine ansicht folgendermassen zusammen:

Wulfila benutzte als grundlage für seine schrift das griechische uncialalphabet; aber wo dies nicht für seinen zweck genügend war, wandte er sich zum lateinischen, und nur für zwei buchstaben nahm er zeichen aus der runenschrift auf (s. 270).

Das heisst also anders ausgedrückt: als Wulfila mit dem gedanken umging, die griechische bibel ins gotische zu übersetzen, fand er sich der notwendigkeit ausgesetzt ein neues alphabet zu bilden, um darein die gotische sprache zu fassen. Wie das von ihm hergestellte alphabet beweist, war er bekannt mit dem griechischen, dem lateinischen und dem runischen. Von diesen dreien wählte er, wie Wimmer glaubt, das griechische zur grundlage des neu zu schaffenden und verwarf somit das runenalphabet, dessen die Goten sich bis dahin bedient hatten, wenigstens in inschriften¹ und, when wir das zeugniss des Jordanes als vollwertig ansehen, auch in der niederschrift ihrer gesetze,² denn bei Jordanes heisst

¹ Vgl. *Grd.*¹, I, s. 408, § 2.

² Vgl. *Grd.*¹, II, ss. 66 f. und anm. 2.

es dass Dicineus die Goten *fysicam tradens naturaliter propriis legibus vivere fecit, quas usque nunc conscriptas belagines (got. *bilageinōs) nuncupant.*

Wimmer gesteht dem gotischen runenalphabet nur insofern einfluss zu, als Wulfila demselben seine zeichen für *o* und *u* entnahm und aus ihm auch die namen der buchstaben auf das von ihm gebildete alphabet übertrug. Es unterliegt nun keinem zweifel, dass Wimmers schlüsse mit bezug auf die directen quellen der einzelnen buchstaben richtig sind, „dass Wulfila sein alphabet durch aufnahme griechischer und lateinischer buchstaben gebildet hat, ohne etwas in deren form zu ändern“ (s. 269). Und dass Wulfila bei der wahl derselben in der weise hätte vorgehen können, wie Wimmer annimmt, ist auch möglich, dass er aber in wirklichkeit so ans werk ging, scheint außerst unwahrscheinlich zu sein, und auf diese unwahrscheinlichkeit sollen die im folgenden gegebenen bemerkungen über das Wulfilanische alphabet hinweisen.

Gleich zu anfang sollte erwähnt werden, dass Wulfils eklektische methode in der bildung des neuen alphabets, indem er seine buchstaben verschiedenen quellen entnahm und die einzelnen zeichen wegen ihrer fähigkeit gewisse laute auszudrücken und aus anderen weniger wichtigen gründen auswählte, in der geschichte der alphabete ganz ohne parallele dasteht. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass das lateinische alphabet in späterer zeit von allen andern germanischen völkern angenommen und dazu gezwungen wurde, die laute der verschiedenen dialekte zu repräsentieren, wenn auch mit mehr oder weniger ungenauigkeit. Wo sich das lateinische alphabet als gänzlich ungünstig erwies, schuf man neue buchstabenverbindungen wie *uu = u*,¹ *dh = ð*, *th = þ* oder behielt einzelne zeichen aus dem alten alphabet bei wie beim ags. *þ*.² Es könnte hier nun eingewendet werden, dass die sache anders liegt, wenn ein einzelner ein neues alphabet schafft, als wenn ein fremdes alphabet sich langsam unter einem anderen volke bahn bricht. Aber auch hierzu lässt sich eine parallele finden, die gegen das dem bischof der goten zugeschriebene verfahren spricht. Ich brauche nur auf das altbulgarische alphabet hinzuweisen,

¹ Vgl. BEAUNE, *Ahd. gram.*, § 7 a 2.

² Vgl. SIEVERS, *Ags. gram.*, § 4.

welches auch das werk eines einzigen mannes ist und geschaffen wurde unter bedingungen denen ganz ähnlich, unter welchen das gotische alphabet zu stande kam, nämlich um zur überersetzung der bibel in die sprache des volkes zu dienen.

In den gerade angeführten alphabeten, dem althochdeutschen, angelsächsischen und albulgarischen, war die zur schriftlichen wiedergabe der einzelnen laute nötige analyse derselben gegründet auf der analyse der laute des lateinischen und griechischen, wie dieselben durch die buchstaben ihrer alphabete dargestellt waren. Im allgemeinen lässt sich überhaupt sagen, dass ein alphabet nur insofern die grundlage eines andern sein kann, als die analyse der zu fixierenden laute des letzteren auf der lautanalyse des ersten sich gründet. Das bewusstsein der lautwerte selbst und der notwendigkeit, sie im schriftlichen bilde festzuhalten, ergiebt sich erst aus dem schon bestehenden alphabete. Geringere abweichungen bei den wiederzugebenden lauten von dem ursprünglichen werte der gebrauchten buchstaben werden manchmal ausser acht gelassen und deshalb mag es vorkommen, dass derselbe buchstabe zwei verschiedene laute repräsentiert. Spätere differenzierung kann durch modifikation der ursprünglichen buchstaben erzielt werden oder durch neue verbindungen. Wenn, wie im falle der germanischen sprachen, ein fremdes alphabet ein schon bestehendes verdrängt, so mögen buchstaben aus dem älteren in dem neu aufgenommenen beibehalten werden, aber nur, wie z. b. bei dem ags. **þ**, um laute zu bezeichnen, die in der andern sprache nicht vorhanden waren.

Indem wir uns nun zu Wulfas alphabet zurückwenden, wollen wir zuerst die gründe untersuchen, durch die Wimmer zu erklären sucht, warum Wulfila von dem griechischen alphabet, welches er doch als grundlage für das gotische benutzt haben soll, abwich, was also das charakteristische merkmal seiner arbeitsweise war bei der schaffung eines neuen alphabets im unterschiede von der art und weise, wie dies gewöhnlich geschieht.

Wir finden in Wulfas alphabet fünf buchstaben für laute, die im griechischen nicht vorkommen: **q** und **y** für die halbvokale *j* und *w*, **u** für den stimmlosen labiogutturalen explosivlaut *q*, **θ** für den stimmlosen labialisierten gutturalen spiranten *h* und **h**

im werte eines *spiritus asper* und des stimmlosen gutturalen spiranten χ , für welche beiden im griechischen nicht bloss *ein* zeichen benutzt wird. Es gelingt Wimmer nicht, klar darzuthun, wie Wulfila zur kenntniß dieser laute gelangte, oder vielmehr, wie sich ihm die notwendigkeit einer bezeichnung dieser laute aufdrängte. Wie schon oben angedeutet wurde, gelangen wir zum bewusstsein eines lautes durch die kenntniß der laute des alphabets, welches als grundlage des neu zu schaffenden dient. Nun kommen die halbvokale *j* und *w* (auch der spirant) nicht vor in dem griechischen des vierten jahrhunderts und im lateinischen werden sie in der schrift nicht unterschieden von den vokalen *i* und *u* (lat. *u* und *w* werden im griechischen wiedergegeben durch *ον*, resp. β). Diese alphabete hätten Wulfila deshalb nicht die notwendigkeit nahe legen können, zwischen den halbvokalen und vokalen zu unterscheiden, nach dem lateinischen würden wir erwarten *u* und *w = u*, etc. In übereinstimmung mit seiner theorie über die art und weise, wie Wulfila bei der schaffung seines alphabets vorging, scheint nun Wimmer zu glauben, dass Wulfila diese notwendigkeit ganz unabhängig von ausseren anstössen erkannte. Aber abgesehen davon, dass sich eine derartige schaffung eines alphabets nur mit den phonetischen systemen der neuzeit vergleichen liesse, wird die ansicht schon dadurch als unhaltbar erwiesen, dass diese unterscheidung schon im runenalphabet bestand **ᚢ**, **ᚢ**, mit dem der gotenbischof wohl ebenso gut bekannt war als mit dem griechischen, und wahrscheinlich bekannter als mit dem lateinischen. Es lässt sich deshalb der schluss ziehen, dass Wulfila in der unterscheidung der halbvokale von den vokalen dem runenalphabet folgte.

Die labialisierten gutturale, **ᚢ** = *q* und **ᚦ** = *v*, kommen im griechischen nicht vor, noch gelangte Wulfila zu einer kenntniß derselben vermittelst des lateinischen. Wenn auch der erste dieser beiden laute im lateinischen des 3. oder 4. jahrh. zu finden ist, so wird er doch regelmässig durch *qu* vertreten. Wenn nun Wulfila seine kenntniß des lautes durch das lateinische erlangt hätte, so wäre, wie mir scheint, kein grund vorhanden gewesen, warum er den gotischen laut nicht durch *qu* oder wenigstens *q* hätte wiedergeben können. Es ist nur ein notbehelf, wenn

Wimmer sagt,¹ dass Wulfila das lateinische *u* und nicht *q* zur Wiedergabe des lautes deshalb wählte, weil das ihm entsprechende Zeichen im griechischen schon als Zahlzeichen im Gebrauch war.

Die durch **U** und **O** bezeichneten gotischen Laute waren in Wirklichkeit einfache Laute.² Wimmer hält diese Buchstaben für neugebildete Zeichen;³ das soll wohl heißen, dass Wulfila sie neu erfunden hat. Diese Laute müssen aber schon im gotischen Runenalphabet eine Bezeichnung gehabt haben. Wenn jeder derselben durch zwei Runen wiedergegeben wurde, d. h. durch **ꝑ** und **H** **P**, wie Wimmer unausgesprochen anzunehmen scheint, so ist es schwer zu erklären, wie Wulfila zu den einfachen Zeichen **U** und **O** kam, da **KY** und **HY** seinem Zweck ebenso gut würden entsprochen haben. Er vermied nicht die Doppelzeichen für einfache Laute, was bewiesen wird durch den Gebrauch von **A** und **An** für *ē* und *ō*, und der Unterschied zwischen labialisiertem *h* oder stimmlosem *w*, d. h. *hv*, und *h+w*, oder zwischen dem labialisierten *k*, d. h. *q*, und *k+w* ist so gering, dass man Wulfila schon für einen fachmännisch gebildeten Phonetiker halten muss, um die Annahme zu rechtfertigen, dass er diesen Unterschied wahrgenommen habe. Wulfila gelangte wohl nicht zum Bewusstsein dieser Laute durch das griechische oder lateinische; er muss diese Kenntnis vielmehr durch das Runenalphabet gewonnen haben, und hier waren *hv* und *q* durch einfache Buchstaben bezeichnet, worauf ich an anderer Stelle zurückzukommen gedenke.

Es sind jetzt noch die beiden Laute, ursprünglich einer, übrig, die durch den einen Buchstaben **h** bezeichnet sind. Dieselben konnten nicht einmal annähernd wiedergegeben werden durch einen griechischen Buchstaben, denn das Zeichen **χ**, welches im späteren altbulgarischen Alphabet diese Werte besass, stellte zur Zeit Wulfilas noch einen aspirierten Laut dar, was aus der Wiedergabe desselben durch das got. *k* erhellt.⁴ Die Laute kommen im lateinischen des 4. Jahrh. vor, bezeichnet durch das unziale **h**, welches Wulfila benutzte, aber es liegt viel näher die

¹ S. 268.

² Vgl. BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, §§ 59, 63.

³ Ss. 261 f., 273 oben.

⁴ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, §§ 57.

erkenntnis des lautes im gotischen gerade wie bei den halbvokalen aus dem runenalphabet herzuleiten, das die rune **N** enthält.

Das bis jetzt gesagte lässt sich also dahin zusammenfassen, dass das runenalphabet Wulfila den wert der laute *j* und *w*, *h* und vielleicht auch *q* und *h* zum bewusstsein brachte.

Warum entlieh nun Wulfila dem lateinischen alphabet die buchstaben **h g f r s u** für sein neues alphabet? Dies führt uns zur betrachtung der von Wimmer angegebenen gründe, wie sie oben angeführt sind. Es sollen nach ihm **h g** aus dem lateinischen ins gotische alphabet aufgenommen sein, weil das griechische keine zeichen für *h* und *j* darbot, keine diesen lauten entsprechenden buchstaben besass. Im falle des erstgenannten lautes bot das lateinische den verlangten buchstaben **h**, aber wie wir oben gesehen haben, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass Wulfila durch die rune **N** zur erkenntnis des gotischen lautes kam, und dieses runenzeichen ist fast identisch mit lat. kapitalem H, welches im 4. jahrh. ebenso gut bekannt war wie sein abkömmling, das unziale *h*. Der grund dafür, dass Wulfila das unziale *h* dem kapitalen vorzog, war der umstand, dass er ein unziales alphabet herstellte. Es ist somit auch hier kein weiter sprung zur annahme, dass Wulfila sich in seiner wahl des buchstabens beeinflusst fühlte durch die ahnlichkeit des lateinischen buchstabens mit der entsprechenden rune.

Was den zweiten gotischen laut, den halbvokal *j*, anbetrifft, so bot das lateinische den buchstaben *i* mit entsprechendem werte, aber Wulfila verwarf denselben, weil er, wie schon gesagt, einen unterschied machen wollte zwischen vokal und halbvokal, wie dieser im runenalphabet existierte. Es scheint ziemlich unsicher zu sein, ob im 4. jahrh. *g* vor hellen vokalen palatalisiert oder vielmehr spirantisiert war oder nicht. Ob es nun, wie Lindsay¹ annimmt, in dieser stellung noch verschlusslaut war, oder ob es, wie Seelmann² anzugeben scheint durch seine bezeichnung desselben als praepalatal und gingival, sich *dj* näherte, so war es doch in keinem falle eine genaue darstellung des gotischen lautes.³

¹ LINDSAY, *The Latin Language*, s. 85.

² SEELMANN, *Die aussprache des latein.*, etc., s. 336.

³ Vgl. BEAUNE, *Got. gram.*, § 43

Diese erwägungen lassen es als höchst wahrscheinlich erscheinen, dass Wulfila den lateinischen buchstaben **q** deshalb in sein alphabet aufnahm, weil er der rune **h** so ähnlich war.

Nach Wimmer nahm Wulfila lat. *f* auf, weil der lateinische buchstabe den gotischen laut genauer wiedergab als griech. *φ*: "das lateinische *f* stand dem gotischen laut viel näher als das griechische *φ*" (s. 266), "die aussprache des griechischen *φ* und des gotischen *f* war wesentlich verschieden" (s. 263). Wimmer lässt sich nicht näher darüber aus, worin diese grössere abweichung des griechischen *φ* vom gotischen laute bestand, und es will fast scheinen, als ob die aussere übereinstimmung des Wulfilanischen mit dem lateinischen buchstaben der hauptgrund für seine ansicht sei. Got. *f* war höchstwahrscheinlich ein bilabialer spirant.¹ Jellineks theorie, dass es labiodental gewesen,² beruht einzig auf Wimmers oben citierter annahme und ist schon durch formen wie *fimf*, *hamfs*, widerlegt. Lat. *f* war schon im 4. jahrh. labiodental;³ griech. *φ* war zu dieser zeit unzweifelhaft bilabial und wahrscheinlich ein spirant, was z. b. auch durch Wulfilas wiedergabe desselben in eigennamen vermittelst *f* bewiesen wird. Wenn auch wegen unzureichender beweise die möglichkeit zugegeben werden müsste, dass es noch aspiriert war, so beweist doch Wulfilas vorgehen, indem er griech. *φ* durch got. *f* wiedergiebt, dass er den unterschied nicht für bedeutend hielt, während Wimmers theorie das bemerken eines solchen unterschiedes voraussetzt. Wenn Wulfila die aspirata *φ* vermied und den spiranten *f* anwendete, warum folgte er dann nicht dem lateinischen brauch und gab griech. *προφήτης* durch *praupheles*, *prauphetus* wieder und nicht durch *praufetes*, *praufetus*, wie er es gethan hat? Die griechische bilabiale aspirata stand dem bilabialen spiranten jedenfalls ebenso nahe wie der labiodentale spirant. Der umstand, der Wulfila in der wahl des lateinischen buchstabens *f* zur wiedergabe des gotischen lautes leitete, war augenscheinlich etwas anderes und zwar die ausserordentliche ähnlichkeit des lateinischen F mit der rune **F**.

¹ BEAUNE, *Got. gram.*, § 52; WREDE, *Die sprache der Ostgoten*, s. 169.

² Zeitschr. f. d. Alt., Bd. XXXVI, ss. 275 f.

³ Vgl. SEELMANN, *Ausspr. d. Lat.*, s. 295; LINDSAY, *The Lat. Lang.*, s. 98.

Lat. **R** und **S** wurden nach Wimmers ansicht aufgenommen „weil mit griech. **P** und **C** zwei lateinische buchstaben mit einer ganz verschiedenen bedeutung formell zusammenfielen. Indem er die lateinischen formen für *r* und *s* aufnahm, erreichte Wulfila somit, dass sein alphabet kein zeichen bekam, das im griechischen und lateinischen verschiedene bedeutung hatte.“¹ Aber Wulfila stellte sein alphabet nicht für die Römer her, sondern für die Goten. Auch ist hier zu beachten, dass Wulfila griech. θ und ψ und lat. **U** mit ganz anderem lautwert in sein alphabet aufnahm als der es war, den sie in ihren eigenen alphabeten besassen, von griech. $\epsilon = \bar{e}$ ganz zu schweigen. Der grund für Wulfilas wahl ist unzweifelhaft der von Kirchhoff² angegebene, dem auch Wimmer einigen wert zugesteht, dass nämlich latein. *r* und *s* den entsprechenden runenzeichen weit näher lagen als die griechischen buchstaben.

Als resultat ergiebt sich somit bis dahin wenigstens die wahrscheinlichkeit, dass von den sechs lateinischen buchstaben, die Wulfila für sein alphabet auswählte, fünf aufgenommen wurden wegen ihrer grossen ähnlichkeit mit den entsprechenden runen.

Es erfübrig noch den einen lateinischen buchstaben **U** im werte von *q* zu behandeln; jedenfalls hat Wulfila ihn dem lateinischen nicht entliehen, weil er den gotischen laut genau repräsentierte. Auch hier ist, wie ich später zu zeigen gedenke, die wahl des buchstabens der ähnlichkeit desselben mit der entsprechenden rune zuzuschreiben. Wo also Wulfila vom griechischen alphabet abwich, entweder in der bezeichnung von lauten, die im griechischen nicht vorkamen, oder in der entlehnung von buchstaben aus einem anderen alphabet, dem lateinischen, wurde er in dieser wahl geleitet durch rücksichten auf das runenalphabet.

Wulfilas bezeichnung der gotischen vokale ist hauptsächlich ausschlaggebend gegen Wimmers ansicht. Wenn Wulfilas alphabet auf dem griechischen beruht, so ist es ausserst schwierig zu verstehen, warum die runen **¶** und **¤** gewählt wurden, da das griechische alphabet genaue bezeichnungen dieser laute in *ou* und *ω* besass. Was *u* betrifft, so lässt sich nicht einwenden, dass Wulfila den digraph für einen einzellaunt zu vermeiden wünschte,

¹ Ss. 206 f.

² KIRCHHOFF, *Das got. runenalphabet*, ss. 55 f.
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denn er braucht auch sonst zwei buchstaben zur bezeichnung eines solchen lautes, *ei*=*i*, *at*=*č*, *aú*=*ö*. Wimmer scheint das gewicht solcher einwendungen zu fühlen, denn er giebt keine genügenden gründen an für den gebrauch von **n** und **q**:

Ich bin nicht im zweifel darüber, dass Wulfila beim *o*- wie beim *u*-zeichen das griechische (und lateinische) alphabet verlassen und die alte heimische schrift benutzt hat, die gerade betreffs dieser beiden zeichen insofern vorzüglich zu seiner eigenen passte, als sie besonders bequem zu schreiben waren. Diese letztere rücksicht, glaube ich, ist auch die einzige ausschlaggebende für Wulfila gewesen (s. 270).

Über Wulfilas bezeichnung der gotischen *e*- und *o*-laute lässt er sich anderswo, s. 262, auch so aus:

Einen dem griechischen entsprechenden unterschied zwischen *ε* und *η*, *ο* und *ω* hielt Wulfila für überflüssig; sein *e* (d. i. *ē*) setzte er an die stelle des griechischen *ε*, sein *o* (d. i. *ō*) umgekehrt an die des griechischen *ω*, und bekam somit platz für *h* und *u*, wo das griechische *η* und *ο* hatte. Aber im zweitnächsten satze konstatiert Wimmer im widerspruch mit dem gerade citierten grund:

Dagegen hat er in ein paar anderen fallen gerade mit dem griechischen als vorbild einzellaute durch zusammenstellung von zwei zeichen ausgedrückt, indem er *i* durch *ei* und *æ* durch *ai* bezeichnete.¹

Ob Wulfila nun an den unterschied in der quantitat dachte oder an den in der qualität, wie Sievers vorschlägt,² gewiss ist es, dass er in der schrift unterschied zwischen den langen geschlossenen lauten *ē*, *ō*, *i* und den kurzen offenen *ě*, *ő*, *í*, und dieser unterschied bildet einen der hauptvorzüge, den das Wulfilanische alphabet vor dem später von den andern germanischen völkern angenommenen lateinischen hatte.

Weiter beabsichtigt Wimmer wohl kaum in der oben citierten ansicht anzudeuten, dass griech. *ε* und *η*, *ο* und *ω* zu Wulfilas zeit keinen unterschied zwischen den kurzen offenen und langen geschlossenen lauten bezeichneten. Unser verlässlichster beweis für den wert griechischer buchstaben, womit Wulfila bekannt war, ist seine transcription griechischer eigennamen. Hier wird regelmässig griech. *η* durch got. *e*, d. h. langes geschlossenes *ē*,³ wie-

¹ Vgl. auch s. 271 oben.

² *Grd.* I, s. 410, § 4.

³ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, § 6, a 1. Got. *i*, *ei*, für *η*, Br. *Gr.* § 7, a 1-4; § 16, a 1, sind ostgotischen schreibern zuzuschreiben; WREDE, *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien*, s. 161. *ai*=*η*; Br., *Gr.* § 23, a 1, ist herbeigeführt durch substitution eines kurzen lautes für einen langen, gerade wie got. *e* dann und wann anstatt des griech. *ε* erscheint, Br. *Gr.*, § 6, a 1.

dergegeben, griech. ε durch got. *ai*, d. h. kurzes offenes ē,¹ griech. ω durch got. ō, d. h. langes geschlossenes ö,² und griech. ο durch got. *au*, d. h. kurzes offenes ö,³ oder *u* in unbetonten silben. Blass⁴ kommt aus anderen beweisgründen zu demselben schluss mit bezug auf den wert⁵ von griech. ε und η im 4. jahrh.

Da es wohl kaum zu bezweifeln ist, dass die gotischen *e*-, *o*-laute den griechischen *e*-, *o*-lauten entsprachen, sehen wir uns vor die frage gestellt: warum machte Wulfila keinen gebrauch von den buchstaben ε und η, ο und ω in der bezeichnung der gotischen laute? Was ε und Η betrifft, liesse sich darauf antworten, dass Wulfila schon den dem Η entsprechenden lateinischen buchstaben gebraucht hatte, um stimmlose gutturale spirans zu bezeichnen, was die frage nach der priorität in der behandlung von ē und *h* aufwerfen würde. Zugegeben aber, dass Wulfila sich entschloss, got. *h* durch lat. unziales *h* wiederzugeben, das würde ihn kaum daran gehindert haben, auch gebrauch zu machen von der form Η, die im 4. jahrh. gang und gäbe war, und der unterschied zwischen Ȑ und Η wäre immer noch grösser gewesen als der zwischen Ȑ und ȑ oder zwischen Ȑ und ȑ. Was nun weiter langes und kurzes *o* betrifft, so ist vom standpunkte des griechischen alphabets aus absolut kein grund vorhanden, warum Wulfila sich nicht hätte der buchstaben ω und ο bedienen sollen anstatt der rune Ȑ und der buchstabenverbindung *au*, welch letztere im griechischen nicht im werte von ö im gebrauch war und entweder nach der analogie von *ai*=ē gebildet oder dem lateinischen entnommen sein muss.

Der grund für diese lage der dinge ist im runenalphabet und in der entwickelung des gotischen zu suchen. Die rune Μ repräsentierte ursprünglich langes und kurzes *e*; als aber kurzes *e* in der vorwulfilanischen periode zu *i* wurde, behielt Μ nur den wert von langem ē. Wie nun später *i* zu kurzem offenem *e* gebrochen wurde, fand dieser laut erst spezielle bezeichnung durch Wulfila, der den griechischen digraph *ai* dazu benutzte. Es war also in dem Wulfila bekannten runenalphabet nur ein zeichen für den *e*-laut vorhanden und dies bezeichnete den langen geschlossenen

¹ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Gr.* § 23.

² *Ibid.* § 11, a 1.

³ *Ibid.* § 24, a 5; § 13, a 1.

⁴ *Auseprache des griech.* § 11.